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ABSTRACT

The objective of the evaluation of Rough Rock Demonstration School (RRDS) on the Navajo Reservation was to examine, in terms of its own stated objectives, the school's organizational and social system as a whole. Chapters in the 1969 evaluation report are "What We Did and Why," "The Schools That Were Compared," "Community Relationships," "The Dormitories," "Programs of Instruction," "Teacher Characteristics and Concerns," "Pupil Attitude and Achievement," "Harbingers of Change," and "General Conclusions." Schools included in the comparative study with RRDS are Rock Point Boarding School, Chinle Boarding School, and Chinle Public Elementary School. As stated, the main comparisons relate to a carefully selected sample of pupils in each school (pupil criteria are given for all 4 schools). The report provides results of interviews held with teachers, parents, school staff, and other community members in the target areas. Among the findings, it is pointed out that RRDS was believed to be a successful experiment in introducing the new concept of involving Indian adults to exercise authority in controlling their own school. However, it is noted "that the primary focus of administrators (at RRDS) seemed to be on public relations,...that the secondary emphasis was on an employment program for local people, and that other affairs of the school were neglected" (see RC 005 062). [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (EL)

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COMMUNITY SCHOOL AT ROUGH ROCK

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A report submitted to the
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by

Donald A. Erickson, Project Director

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written by

Donald A. Erickson, Associate Professor of Education
University of Chicago

Henrietta Schwartz, Research Assistant
Department of Education, University of Chicago

with a special report by

Oswald Werner, Assistant Professor of Anthropology

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CONSULTANTS

Anonymous Professor of Anthropology, The University of Chicago.
Robert L. Bergman, M.D. Psychiatrist, Division of Indian Health, U.S. Public Health Service, Window Rock, Arizona.
Edwin M. Bridges, Associate Professor, Department of Education, The University of Chicago.
Fred Eggan, Harold H. Swift Distinguished Service Professor, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago.
Virginia Ford, School of Nursing, De Paul University, Chicago, Illinois.
Orpha McPherson, Former Principal and Supervisor of Bureau of Indian Affairs schools (retired), Phoenix, Arizona.
Philleo Nash, Former Commissioner of Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.
Oswald Werner, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University.

The conclusions and recommendations in this report are those of the Contractor and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of Economic Opportunity or any other agency of the United States Government.

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The computer analyses reported in chapter 7 were planned and executed by Greg Hancock, a graduate fellow in the Department of Education, University of Chicago. Elsie Manley-Casimir helped considerably in the difficult task of coding.

At our first research conference, held in October, 1968, Dillon Platero, the new director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, and William T. Benham, Jr., Navaho Area Director of Schools for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, journeyed to Chicago to help plan the study.

Juanita Begay, Lorene Bennett, Wallace Burbank, and Eddie Thompson, our Navaho field workers, were immensely valuable in our endeavors, and we esteem each of them personally. Juanita Begay came to Chicago at the end of our field work, lived in the home of the director of the study and contributed immeasurably to the analysis and interpretation of data.

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CHAPTER 1

WHAT WE DID AND WHY

From the city's din to the reservation's silence takes no time at all, or so it seems. Go by jet to Denver, switch to Frontier Airlines, rent a car at Farmington, and head westward. Soon Shiprock's phantom monolith rises against the sky, gatekeeper of a different world.

In indigo velvet, a Navaho woman glides beside the Chinle Wash. The landscape needs her, like Tsaile Lake, the Lukachukai Ramparts, the pinion tree--and the hogan. Unlike the white man's buildings, the hogan was fashioned to meld with the mesas, to respect their sanctity.

To sense the Navaho outlook, spend time in a hogan. John Dick's, like all the others, looked crowded and uninviting from outside. Inside, it wove a womb-like spell. We entered, as always, from the east, into twilight filtering through the opening overhead. At the northern edge stood a simple kitchen sink, with ubiquitous water pail, next to a small table and primitive open cupboard. Three chairs were there to accommodate Anglo visitors, but no beds or other furniture. A small stove squatted in the center, its pipe extending into the sky. The log walls were neatly sealed with clay, the dirt floor tamped and swept clean. Rugs, blankets, sheep skins, suitcases, and other possessions were stacked in the periphery. Many items hung from nails or lodged almost invisibly in fissures. Wraith-like in a shadow, Dick's wife sat combing her jet-black hair, averting her gaze. In the twilight, the fire's warmth, the fragrance of the encircling walls, the low, liquid music of the Navaho tongue, big cities seemed garish, far distant, and unreal.

But the way of life these scenes epitomize--should children be readied to pursue it? Or should they prepare for the computerized world? In the past, most schools for the Indian were geared to one alternative. A little bit west of sacred Ice Cream Hill, beneath the contrails of transcontinental jets, is a bold experiment designed to fit both societies.

Though less than three years old, the Rough Rock Demonstration School is a widely recognized symbol of the avant-garde in American Indian education.

More than that, it is probably the most dramatic attempt thus far to achieve community control in a school serving a disadvantaged, largely uneducated minority. Only two of Rough Rock's seven board members have had anv formal schooling, with the exception of some limited recent exposure to adult education courses.

The salient features of the Rough Rock school have been limned in national magazines, newspapers, professional journals, documentary films, radio and television discussions. But experiments of this import deserve more comprehensive description, much closer analysis. The study described in this report, commissioned by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was designed for that purpose, to evaluate, as thoroughly as resources permitted, the Rough Rock experiment.

We began our work in September, 1968, simultaneously searching for competent field workers and drafting a tentative research plan. On October 4, 1968, at an all-day conference held in Chicago, we presented our tentative plan to scholars from several fields (anthropology, psychiatry, social psychology, education, public health). Rough Rock's new director, the Director of Schools of the Navaho Area for the Bureau of Indian affairs, a representative of the National Study of American Indian Education (then getting under way under the direction of Professor Robert Havighurst), a Navaho linked to the tribal "establishment" and one young "militant" Navaho. While we must bear responsibility for our own work, we think it accurate to report that the broad outlines of our methodology, particularly with respect to the selection of schools to be compared, were agreed upon as appropriate and fair by the people present at the conference.

Representatives of Rough Rock particularly (and appropriately) urged that we judge the school in terms of its own stated objectives, and this we attempted consistently to do. The effort was entirely compatible with our commission from OEO. Such an approach must be applied cautiously, however, or a school with daring aims may be assessed more harshly than its unventuring sisters. Furthermore, approaches espoused at any given point may later be found unworkable and inappropriate. Rough Rock's goals, we felt, should be taken as declaring broadly the directions in which efforts would be focused, not necessarily as indicating the techniques the school had "promised" to use or the amount of progress that should be defined as significant. Too many aims were pursued simultaneously at Rough Rock to be achieved conclusively in less than three years--and from one standpoint, at least, this is laudable. When we identify shortcomings, as any evaluative study must do, they must not quickly be regarded as condemnations.

In some respects, the fullest expression of Rough Rock's philosophy is found in the school's first proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity, in 1966. Three broad outcomes were espoused particularly in that document: (1) Pupils should demonstrate a higher level of social-psychological functioning--in particular, feeling better about themselves and their culture, (2) the community should be stronger, more cohesive, more aggressive, more independent, and (3) pupils should be capable, cognitively and affectively, of succeeding in both worlds--Navaho and Anglo. We gathered evidence in each of these areas.

Beyond assessing progress toward these outcomes, we must examine the functioning of the school's organizational and social system as a whole. Otherwise we cannot judge whether methods used at Rough Rock are applicable elsewhere. We must consider the school's functioning, moreover, in case some goals have not been achieved. If some aims were unattained, we must ask whether the school's special methods were ineffective, whether the methods were not applied, or whether the methods were applied improperly. In the case of some goals, we may conclude that promising techniques are indeed being applied and that results may be expected, but that more time is needed for any dramatic payoff. Some educational objectives take many years to attain.

Fortunately, spokesmen for Rough Rock spelled out in some detail the methodological implications of their philosophy, and withing the limitations mentioned earlier, we may obtain some guidance from this source as to what these spokesmen themselves would view as promising methods.

The major approaches to community development, mentioned or implied, included: involving the community extensively in the decision-making and program-executing aspects of the school, by developing a locally elected school board and other decision-making mechanisms; encouraging the creation and growth of local political structures; lending status and recognition to community leaders; improving health services and recreational opportunities; contributing to a higher level of physical health, optimism, and self-confidence; providing adult education well fitted to local needs and aspirations; helping harness available resources, local, tribal, and federal, in the service of the community; extending employment and vocational development opportunities to people who would otherwise lack them; improving the quality of arts and crafts production, agricultural practices, home construction, and sanitation in the area; and creating independent sources of income.

We should point out, in speaking of community control, involvement, and development, that we did not assume the constituency served by any of the four schools to be a "true" community in any analytic sense. In using the term community, in most cases we refer merely to the collectivity of individuals in the area served by a given school. In effect, many of Rough Rock's statements of objective implied the task of creating a community, to the extent that a community did not exist, out of the collectivity from which pupils were drawn. It was further implied, we think, that the school would draw its students from an area that had the potential of becoming unified and cohesive.

Techniques proposed for improving the social-psychological well-being of pupils included more intensive work with children in the dormitories than other schools had provided; a closer link between dormitory and classroom; the presence of parents in the dormitories, both as house parents and as occasional visitors; emphasis upon methods calculated to develop internalized rather than externally imposed discipline; a positive stress upon Navaho tradition, through formal courses in Navaho language and culture, the regular telling of stories, legends, history, and traditions by parents and tribal elders, and other means; an extensive program of guidance and counseling, staffed as much as possible by Navahos; a program of teacher selection and training that would guarantee understanding of Navaho culture in the classrooms; and effective programs of health and recreation.

It was clearly postulated by Rough Rock's leaders that community development and a higher level of social-psychological functioning in the child would be reflected in more efficient learning, in both Navaho and Anglo components of the curriculum and extra-curriculum. In addition, a great deal of instructional experimentation was envisioned, including much pre-service and in-service preparation for teachers, especially in Navaho language and culture and the structural-linguistic approach to Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL); programs of visitation to acquaint teachers intimately with Navaho homes; special activities for the training, utilization, and progressive upgrading of local people as teacher aides; an unusual stress upon TESL, Navaho language and culture, art, and remedial reading in the curriculum; bilingual instruction to build conpetency in English upon a foundation of competency first gained in Navaho; extensive use of specialists in TESL, speech correction, remedial reading, guidance and counseling, and Navaho language and culture; development and use of special Navaho curriculum materials, including textbooks and teaching guides; extensive field trips for pupils, arranged through both classrooms and dormitories; special accelerated programs to groom promising youngsters for college and later leadership; and such special instructional equipment as language laboratory booths in each dormitory wing, constantly available.

A further feature of Rough Rock's earlier documents was the promise of systematic action research, the rigorous on-going self-evaluation of important components of the school's activities. The original proposal to OEO stated, for example, that:

> The evaluation is considered to be the most important part of the demonstration school: without an adequate and careful evaluation it would be impossible to determine the success or failure of the introduced items. A means must be had to measure the effectiveness of each of the new programs that is introduced.[1]
>
> It should be repeated that a full time evaluator will be employed who will be responsible for the development of sound, action oriented research studies. He will assist teachers in the development of studies in their field of special interest as well as developing project wide studies of his own.[2]

Any school venturing into untried areas should alter its road-map from time to time, and logical shifts in technique and emphasis can be documented at Rough Rock. Nevertheless, the general focus described in the original proposal to OEO is still echoed in the school's official statements. We will refer to it at numerous junctures in this report as a way of keeping discussions in focus.

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[1] /Original/ Proposal for Rough Rock Navaho Demonstration School, p. 8

[2] Ibid., p. 44.

Finally, an important goal implied in the very name of a demonstration school is that it will not merely experiment, but show the way. It is not enough, then, to transfer control to local people, develop the community, help pupils to acquire pride in their traditions, and stimulate more effective learning. The techniques used must be applicable elsewhere.

In keeping with a suggestion made at the conference on October 4, 1968, we not only identified Rough Rock's goals and anticipated methods, but also wrote to twenty-two Navaho and other American Indian leaders, inviting them to identify questions they thought important to explore. Seven of these leaders responded, including five Navaho Tribal officials, though only four suggested specific questions for examination. We considered the questions carefully and will identify them at points where they are pertinent.

As we mentioned earlier, one could hardly fault Rough Rock every time it fell short of its ambitious goals. A lofty ideal is no realistic criterion of progress. Against what baseline should we measure Rough Rock? It would be fallacious to compare the school with other schools we had known--virtually all of them catering to different cultural groups and operating in a different milieu. It seemed imperative, then, that we gather data, not only at Rough Rock, but at other schools for the Navaho, and that we include in our study at least one school whose goals were similar to Rough Rock's. In choosing schools, we sought, furthermore, to obtain evidence concerning the special advantages Rough Rock enjoyed. It was free from most of the bureaucratic constraints that applied in schools on the reservation operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Final operating authority resided in a Navaho corporation, not a Washington office. The per-pupil budget was considerably higher than that of BIA schools nearby.[1] To what extent were Rough Rock's accomplishments attributable to these special advantages, as several Navaho leaders asked us to discover? We worried, moreover, about the well-known Hawthorne Effect--the tendency for people who know they are part of an experiment to perform at higher levels, even when the specific methods being tried are in no sense superior.

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[1] In some respects, as we will explain in more detail later, per-pupil income is misleading, for unlike the other schools in our study, Rough Rock had assumed important community-development functions (see chapter 2).

For these and other reasons, we decided, with the help of our advisory panel, to include in the study the Rock Point Boarding School. Rock Point was similar to Rough Rock in numerous important respects. Individuals who knew the reservation well said the two Navaho communities were much alike. Both schools were relatively small, catering to areas small enough and close enough at hand to permit extensive parental involvement in school affairs. The head of each school was a charismatic administrator with a Navaho wife. Both men had demonstrated a commitment to community involvement, bilingual instruction, a structured linguistic approach to teaching English, and the need for Navaho pupils to have pride in their culture. Both schools were noted for experimentation. One salient difference between them was that Rock Point operated within BIA's bureaucratic structure and lacked the liberal funding Rough Rock enjoyed.

But what if both schools were achieving at a high level? If we compared them only against each other, we would never know it. We could not assume, for instance, that national norms on achievement tests were valid for Navahos. So we broadened our purview to the Chinle Boarding School, located in the same general area of the reservation, agreed by our panel to be a fairly typical BIA school. Chinle Boarding represented another important advantage: Since it served several areas so distant that community involvement was almost certainly minimal, we could count on data that would illuminate the evidence on this question from Rough Rock and Rock Point.

Finally, as a means of comparing community relationships at Rough Rock with the relationships characterizing public schools in the area, all of them operated by the massive Chinle public school district, under the legal control of locally elected board members, we gathered certain data from the Chinle Public Elementary School, just across the street from Chinle Boarding.

At several points in our analysis, we will consider in detail the relevant aspects of the research design. To establish a framework, however, it may be important to discuss here the selection of main sample and the major components of the data-gathering strategy.

The main comparisons relate to a carefully selected sample of pupils in each school, to a sample of their parents, and to the teachers, administrators, dormitory workers, school boards and committees, and other educational personnel who serve them. We tried to make our pupil samples strictly comparable with respect to age, years of schooling, and acculturation type. Partly because we despaired of finding any measure of intelligence that was valid and reliable for Navaho pupils and at the same time readily applicable (so we could use it to select our sample), we abandoned the notion of matching our groups in any way for intelligence. We adopted, instead, the assumption that the four pupil samples were for all practical purposes random selections from the same traditional Navaho population and therefore comparable in basic intelligence. It should be emphasized candidly that many comparisons in this report are no more defensible than that assumption. Thus far, the colleagues we have consulted from several disciplines have not subjected the assumption to serious attack.

At Rough Rock we included in the main pupil sample all individuals who met the following criteria: they had not attended any other school during the period in which Rough Rock was in operation, they were from the school's regular attendance area,[1] they were in their first, third, fifth, or seventh years of schooling,[2] they first began school in the month of September (rather than January, for example), they began no younger than 5 years, 8 months of age and no older than 6 years, 10 months of age,[1] they had attended consecutively each year since entering, they had no Anglo parent, and they were not offspring of the school's professional employees.[2] This process yielded 20 first-year pupils (13 girls and 7 boys), 19 third-year pupils (10 girls and 9 boys), 11 fifth-year pupils (5 girls and 6 boys), and 11 seventh-year pupils (8 girls and 3 boys). All 31 parent-couples of these children who had not been interviewed under the direction of Mr. Gary Witherspoon in the

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[1] Dr. Robert Bergman, psychiatrist on the reservation for the U.S. Public Health Service, informed us that he had referred to Rough Rock several psychologically disturbed youngsters from other communities. Had we not eliminated these children from the Rough Rock sample, our comparisons would have been biased against Rough Rock.

[2] The first year of schooling was defined as the year in which the child entered school as a "Beginner." The Beginners level of instruction is a pre-first-grade level, generally lasting a full school year, to which virtually all Navaho pupils are exposed before they enter the first grade. Instruction at the Beginners level has usually been concerned primarily with the rudiments of English and a modicum of reading-readiness activities. School records on kindergarten and Head Start activities were so inconsistent that we reluctantly abandoned efforts to control the sample for exposure to these. Our inquiries led us to believe that these programs had been offered more consistently at Rough Rock than in the Rock

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Point and Chinle communities. As we learned in the course of the study, however, Head Start classes had been sporadic and disorganized at Rough Rock, at least until recently; so the bias in favor of Rough Rock resulting from our inability to control for Head Start and Kindergarten is probably rather small. Since learning is known to be affected profoundly by maturation, the need for comparability in terms of some available proxy for maturation, such as chronological age, is obvious. We felt it unsatisfactory to draw the sample in terms of school grade, as is often done, for this strategy may distort comparisons of school effectiveness. A school that retains pupils of a given achievement level in the third grade may appear superior to a school that promotes pupils of identical achievement to the fourth grade, simply because the former are judged by third-grade standards (in terms of national grade-level norms on achievement tests, for example) and the latter by fourth-grade standards. In fact, part of the effectiveness of an educational program may depend on policies with respect to promotion, but one cannot discern the effects of these policies if the promoted and nonpromoted are assessed by different norms. Data on years of schooling were obtained from school records, and the current school year was included in the count. (At the Rock Point Boarding School, the data were readily available on school census cards. At the other three schools studied, the pupils' cumulative file folders had to be consulted. At Rough Rock valuable assistance was obtained from Mr. Ben Bennett, the school's "Evaluator," who had supplementary information in his files that cleared up numerous ambiguous cases.) Pupils for whom years of schooling could not be established with reasonable certainty were eliminated from the sample.

[1] Age was controlled by eliminating all children who were older than "normal" for a given number of years of schooling. Pupils who had not entered school as Beginners in the fall of the year in question were eliminated from the sample. Pupils were then eliminated as "over age" if they were born earlier than November 1 seven years before the school term at which they entered as Beginners and were eliminated as "under age" if they were born later than December 30 six years before the school term at which they entered as Beginners.

[2] The possibility was also raised of eliminating children of school employees. At Rough Rock, however, where a program of "rotating" employment was in force, a high percentage of parents either were or had been employees of the school. To eliminate these would decimate the sample. Furthermore, since educational attainment and other qualifications were prerequisites of employment in the other schools, but not at Rough Rock, the significance of employment differed across schools. All in all, it seemed unavoidable to leave children of school employees in the sample, and to control for, or study, the effects of that factor statistically to the extent that it was feasible to do so.

summer of 1967 were selected for interviewing.[1] Since Witherspoon's sample was drawn at random, our sample may also be considered random, for all practical purposes.

At the Rock Point and Chinle boarding schools, our objective was to draw slightly larger samples, for each sex for each year of schooling, than we had obtained at Rough Rock. We did not require that pupils selected at Rock Point and Chinle Boarding had attended only the school in question during the previous 2 1/4 years, as we did at Rough Rock. Applying all other criteria applied at Rough Rock,[2] we produced, with some exceptions, more pupils than we needed for each sex for each year of schooling, and from these subgroups we selected at random (whenever the number was too large) numbers of pupils comparable, but in most cases slightly larger, than the numbers in the sample at Rough Rock. One additional criterion was utilized at Chinle Boarding: Consulting with four school administrators who knew the school's attendance area well, we were informed that the more isolated communities, such as Nazlini, Sawmill, Pinon, Blue Gap, Smoke Signal, Salina Springs, Low Mountain, Keams Canyon, Cottonwood, Del Muerto, and Black Mountain, were highly similar educationally, economically, and culturally to Rough Rock and Rock Point, whereas many families with Chinle addresses lived closer to main roads and thus were more "Anglicized." We decided, then, to eliminate all pupils with addresses from Chinle or from outside the normal attendance area (Tuba City, for example).

From the parent-couples of our pupil samples in the Rock Point and Chinle boarding schools, we selected for interviewing at random, in each school, 7 parents from each of the four years-of-schooling levels (1, 3, 5 and 7), for a total of 28 parent-couples in each of these two schools.

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[1] Witherspoon, now a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago, conducted two series of community interviews while he was a member of the administrative staff of the Rough Rock Demonstration School. We will have occasion to refer to his interviews again later in this report.

[2] There was one small exception. At Rough Rock, where the first pupil sample was drawn, we eliminated three children from a family whose mother had very recently been bereaved. It was our intent (in retrospect, unrealistic) to eliminate recently bereaved children from the sample in all four schools, but we subsequently found that school records were inadequate to support this procedure. No further pupils were eliminated on this basis. Consequently, the sample may manifest a small bias in favor of Rough Rock in this respect.

Our main purpose in including the Chinle Public Elementary School in the sample was to study the school board as a voice of the local community, but we could not resist drawing a small pupil sample for the purpose of making tentative comparisons that might facilitate future research. Since public school pupils on the reservation are defined by law, for all practical purposes, as living within walking distance of public school bus lines, public school children have a marked tendency to be from less traditional families than their boarding-school counterparts. There are always a few exceptions, however, for isolation per se is an imperfect predictor of acculturation, some bus lines run fairly deeply into otherwise-isolated areas, and there are some departures from the statutory rule. Two of our Navaho field workers, Chinle residents themselves, were well acquainted with the community as a whole, and we identified the public school's school-community coordinator (truant officer) as another person well informed concerning people in the area. We submitted to these three judges, independently, a list of school families, asking them to pick parents who did not speak English, were unemployed, were uneducated, and lived in hogans or flat-board houses. We eliminated all pupils from families not selected by all three judges, and from the small number thus identified, attempted to approximate a sample with 3 pupils each for each sex for each of the four years of schooling (1, 3, 5, and 7). The closest we could come to the objective was four first-year pupils (1 girl and 3 boys), four third-year pupils (2 girls and 2 boys), five fifth-year pupils (1 girl and 4 boys), and six seventh-year pupils (3 girls and 3 boys). We then selected at random, for interviewing, ten parents of these pupils, two or three from each year-of-schooling level.

We did not succeed in gathering our numerous bodies of data for all individuals in the pupil and parent samples, and for some purposes we utilized supplementary samples of pupils and parents. The possible biases thus introduced will be considered later, in connection with the relevant analyses.

From the inception of the study, we wanted to examine the four schools much more intensively than we could do by administering various instruments and conducting structured interviews. In the past, many data on educational organizations have represented such a narrow perspective as to be basically uninterpretable. We began the study, consequently, with what is best described as an "anthropological live-in." The assistant director of the study (Henrietta Schwartz) was assigned to live in the girls' dormitories at the three boarding schools, spending 30 days at Rough Rock, 11 days at Rock Point, 14 days at Chinle, and 4 days at the Western Navaho Tribal Fair in Tuba City, talking with pupils, dormitory workers, teachers, and administrators informally; observing classrooms, dormitories, dining rooms, playgrounds, gymnasiums, canteens, and other areas; and making voluminous observational notes. Her eleven-year-old daughter was present during the first four weeks at Rough Rock and lived and studied with the Navaho children.

With minor exceptions, all formal interviewing was the responsibility of other members of the research team, as was the necessity of requesting access to data, some very sensitive in nature. We felt that these activities would tend to make personnel less willing to share their feelings and opinions with Mrs. Schwartz, as they seemed remarkably inclined to do. The "live-in" provided invaluable leads that were subsequently cross-checked against more objective data from questionnaires, psychological instruments, and structured interviews. In addition, it provided a first-hand exposure to school functioning that facilitated interpretation of evidence otherwise enigmatic.

For the most part, the director of the study concentrated on formal interviews and questionnaire administration rather than talking with personnel informally. He did, however, live in the boys' dormitories at Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle, for approximately 2 1/2, 1 1/2, and 1 1/2 weeks, respectively, and made many observational notes to complement and cross-validate Mrs. Schwartz' efforts. For the first two weeks of his stay (one week at Rough Rock and one week at Chinle), his wife and twelve-year-old son were present to contribute observations of their own.

There were further supplements to Mrs. Schwartz' "live-in." One of our

Navaho field workers who had had no previous contact with Rough Rock (and professed to have formed no opinions of the school) observed several classrooms, primarily to determine the interaction that was occurring in Navaho among the pupils. We encountered at Rough Rock a student from Wilmington College, Mr. Paul H. Harkness, who was visiting Rough Rock as a special activity in connection with his studies. Taking care not to apprise him of our perceptions, we arranged for him to send us the observational notes he made for his own purposes. As it turned out, he was impressed with several phenomena that struck us as pervasive and important. On our last field trip, in January, 1969, we asked the previously mentioned Navaho field worker, who had lived in the girls' dormitories during earlier work, to make notes concerning any changes she observed upon returning. On the January trip, in addition, we brought to the field a graduate student from Chicago who had had no previous contact with any agency educating American Indians. We planned to use his independent judgments as a "double-check" on our own. As it turned out, we encountered dramatic changes on the January trip; so we could not logically use observations made at that time to validate those made earlier. His descriptions of several unchanged phenomena, however, were useful and corroborative.

We attempted, in fact, to execute a community "live-in" at Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle. With the help of professors at Northwestern University and the Massachussets Institute of Technology, we identified a highly competent Navaho with training and experience in anthropological work and arranged with him to live for at least four weeks in each of the three communities, getting to know the people and describing, on the basis of whatever information he could obtain informally, the functions the school performed in the community as perceived by local Navahos. We intended to cross-check his reports and the formal parent interviews. As we assess the attempt retrospectively, we think the assignment was lacking in structure; in addition, the field worker apparently misunderstood several aspects of the undertaking. We abandoned the experiment after approximately three weeks of effort in the Rough Rock community, but not before we obtained some illuminating information. We still find the community live-in idea appealing and would not hesitate to try it again with a different format.

The major danger in the "live-in" participant-observer approach to data-acquisition is bias. One may devote too much attention to dramatic, atypical incidents and overlook the subtle relationships that are so often determinative in human behavior. One may develop a general impression during the early phases of research, subsequently noticing events that seem corroborative and "tuning-out" events that appear contradictory. We attempted to escape these distortions by comparing the perceptions of several people, through the means described earlier. We draw some assurance from the fact that many findings were unanticipated, virtually the antithesis of what we would have predicted. We excluded from our observational notes words that seemed evaluative or emotionally loaded, attempting to focus attention on the strictly factual elements in the reports. We emphasized the phenomena we observed first-hand only when numerous incidents of the same type appeared in our notes and when we had substantiating reports from teachers, dormitory workers, administrators, parents, pupils, and/or board members, obtained through formal interviews and questionnaires or other instruments and in many cases gathered by other people. We held a second all-day research conference in Chicago on March 12, 1969, at which time we presented to a multi-disciplinary panel our tentative findings and sensitized ourselves, through their reactions, to numerous subtleties and alternative explanations that we might otherwise have overlooked. We do not mean to imply that the members of the panel approved our findings or conclusions--merely that we listened at length to their reactions and considered them well. Any errors or distortions in the study are our own.

The data will establish, we believe, that what we saw was remarkably similar to what was seen by most pupils, parents, teachers, dormitory workers, administrators, and other school personnel. If we had the study to do over again, many methods could be improved, but we would again use the "live-in" as a major data-gathering technique. In our judgment, the risks of bias were far over-shadowed by depth of information we obtained about the schools we studied--particularly at Rough Rock, where we spent the most time. We are convinced that our conclusions are much closer to actuality because of it. But inevitability, our readers must judge our objectivity for themselves.

Since the other data-gathering procedures will be discussed in detail later, it may be sufficient merely to mention them for present purposes. The director of the study interviewed 15 out of 25 Rough Rock teachers, 11 out of 14 Rock Point teachers, 9 out of 33 Chinle Boarding School teachers, and 5 out of 21 teachers at Chinle Public. We interviewed 5 out of 7 current board members at Rough Rock, one former board member at Rough Rock, and 4 out of 5 board members at Chinle Public. We held formal interviews with an additional 25 adults at Rough Rock, 24 at Chinle Boarding, 20 at Rock Point, 3 at Chinle Public, and 16 people then unaffiliated with the schools who were in a position to shed light on important questions. These individuals will be identified in more detail later.

We administered two questionnaires to instructional personnel. One of these was designed, during the study, to provide more conclusive evidence on unanticipated trends we were encountering. Questionnaires were sent to a list of visitors to Rough Rock from other American Indian tribes and to a list of former Rough Rock staff members. Members of the staff observed three board meetings at Rough Rock, one educational committee meeting at Rock Point, and a meeting of the Rock Point Chapter.[1] We executed a content analysis of a stratified random sampling of the Rough Rock board minutes, studied the minutes in toto, and examined many other documents, including proposals, budgets, audit reports, evaluator's reports, minutes of "Key Staff" meetings, news releases, and publications.

We administered an anxiety scale to the pupils, individually, in Navaho, and obtained retest data on a sub-sample in January, 1969. We reanalyzed achievement test comparisons that were made in May, 1968, involving Rough Rock, Rock Point, and two other BIA schools. (We gathered supplementary data on the pupils to permit control of several variables that had been neglected in the earlier analysis.) As a replication, we gathered achievement-test data of our own in January, 1969, for the Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle Boarding schools. We arranged for

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[1] The chapter is the local political subdivision of the Navaho Tribe.

Dr. Robert Bergman, psychiatrist for the U. S. Public Health Service at Window Rock, who had been developing several instruments to assess pupil self-perceptions, to refine one of these and use it in his own independent analysis of the pupils in our sample. We commissioned Professor Oswald Werner of Northwestern University, who had done extensive linguistic work with the Navaho, to give us his independent assessment of TESL, Navaho literacy, and bilingual instruction at Rough Rock, particularly as compared with Rock Point.

The data resulting from the above-mentioned processes are analyzed and discussed in this report. We gathered, in addition, several bodies of supplementary data, more tentative and exploratory in nature, which time and other resources in a six-month study have not permitted us to analyze. It is our intention to examine them in detail later and to publish the results.

What follows, then, is an account of what we found at Rough Rock, couched for the most part in the form of comparisons against other schools serving the same traditional Navaho population. In chapter 2, we describe briefly the historical, physical, cultural, fiscal, and legal setting of the four schools, and we consider evidence bearing on the comparability of our samples. In chapters 3 and 7, we consider data relating to the three major outcome-areas identified earlier as espoused in Rough Rock's official pronouncements. In chapters 4 through 6, we examine internal processes at Rough Rock, as illuminated by comparisons from the other schools. Chapter 4 concerns the dormitories; chapter 5, the classrooms; chapter 6, the characteristics and concerns of teachers and other personnel. Chapter 7 provides evidence gathered on pupils anxiety, aspirations, acculturation, and academic achievement. Chapter 8 discusses indications of change now that a Navaho director has taken office. In chapter 9, finally, we consider alternative interpretations of the data as a whole, settle upon the general conclusions that seem most logical, and identify possible implications for social policy, educational practice, and research.

CHAPTER 2

THE SCHOOLS THAT WERE COMPARED

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the major characteristics of the schools we compared, with particular emphasis on three boarding schools to which most of the evidence relates. The intent is to provide a basic delineation of the context of Navaho education generally, a necessary background for understanding the data from each school, and a basis for judging whether the populations compared were logically comparable.

General Setting

As Fig. 2.1 indicates, the area of the Navaho reservation in which our study took place may be described with reference to three small cities of the Southwest. The area is west and a little south of Farmington, northwest of Gallup, and northeast of Flagstaff, clustered around the high dark mesas of which Black Mountain is the most prominent and widely known, in the area served by the Chinle Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The most prominent landmarks are Black Mountain and its sister mesas on the west, the color-drenched Lukachukai Mountains on the east, and some rocky peaks and promontories extending spasmodically northwestward from the vicinity of Rock Point, toward Monument Valley at Kayenta.

It would be difficult to improve on Kluckhohn and Leighton's characterization of the general landscape: "A stretch of sagebrush interspersed with groves of small evergreens (pinyon and juniper trees) against a background of highly colored mesas, canyons, buttes, volcanic necks, and igneous mountain masses clothed in deep pine green, roofed over with a brilliant blue sky."[1] The two scholars were struck, as were we, by "table-lands . . . cut by sage-floored valleys," "treeless wastes," "canyons cut deep into red or orange or red-and-white banded sandstone masses," and "wind-sculptured buttes of passionate colors."

In many ways the reservation is the same as when Kluckhohn and Leighton first described it decades ago. A few paved roads now cross-cut its immensity, but most areas, untouched by asphalt, become seas of red mud in times of rainfall or winter thaw. Between the Rough Rock Demonstration School and the pavement at Many Farms, for instance, are sixteen miles of sand that become bottomless pudding, one could say (with a little poetic license), with every heavy dew. In most areas vegetation is sparse, because of drought, erosion, and constant over-grazing. There is little to hold the sandy soil in place. Gullies seem to form and deepen before one's gaze. Sandstorms rage in periods of wind and drought. How long can the precious soil endure? Water scarcity is another problem. When rains come, infrequently, the gullies and washes roar down into the canyons, and in a day or two the water has disappeared. Springs in the higher elevations are often saline. Small dams, ponds, and enduring streams are very few. There is irrigation in some areas, apparently rather undependable. We encountered no families, so far as we could determine, who derived significant benefit from it.

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[1] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (rev. ed.; New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 45.

Though progressively depleted, the soil is asked to support a rapidly increasing population. Figures gathered in a study at Many Farms suggest that the Navaho population is growing at a rate much higher than that for the nation as a whole. Most Navaho males by far lack steady employment. Average family income is estimated at $700 a year. Families typically subsist by maintaining a few sheep or goats, collecting welfare checks, and sending their school-age children to live in federally financed dormitories. A major reason for dormitories, as later evidence will suggest, is that they are a socially accepted means of extending welfare to American Indians. Navaho women who live near federal installations often baby-sit all day for teachers and other federal employees at rates between $12 and $15 per week (the federal minimum wage notwithstanding). Even this pittance is more than can be earned, with the same time and effort, by a skilled rug-weaver. When the weaver has shorn her sheep, carded and cleaned the wool, gathered and processed local plants to make dyes, spun and dyed the wool, set up her loom, woven the rug, and marketed it at the trading post, she does well to have earned fifteen cents an hour, according to our calculations. Unless rug-weaving is made more rewarding financially, it is almost certain to disappear, as local traders say it is doing--especially as employment opportunities for Navaho women become more

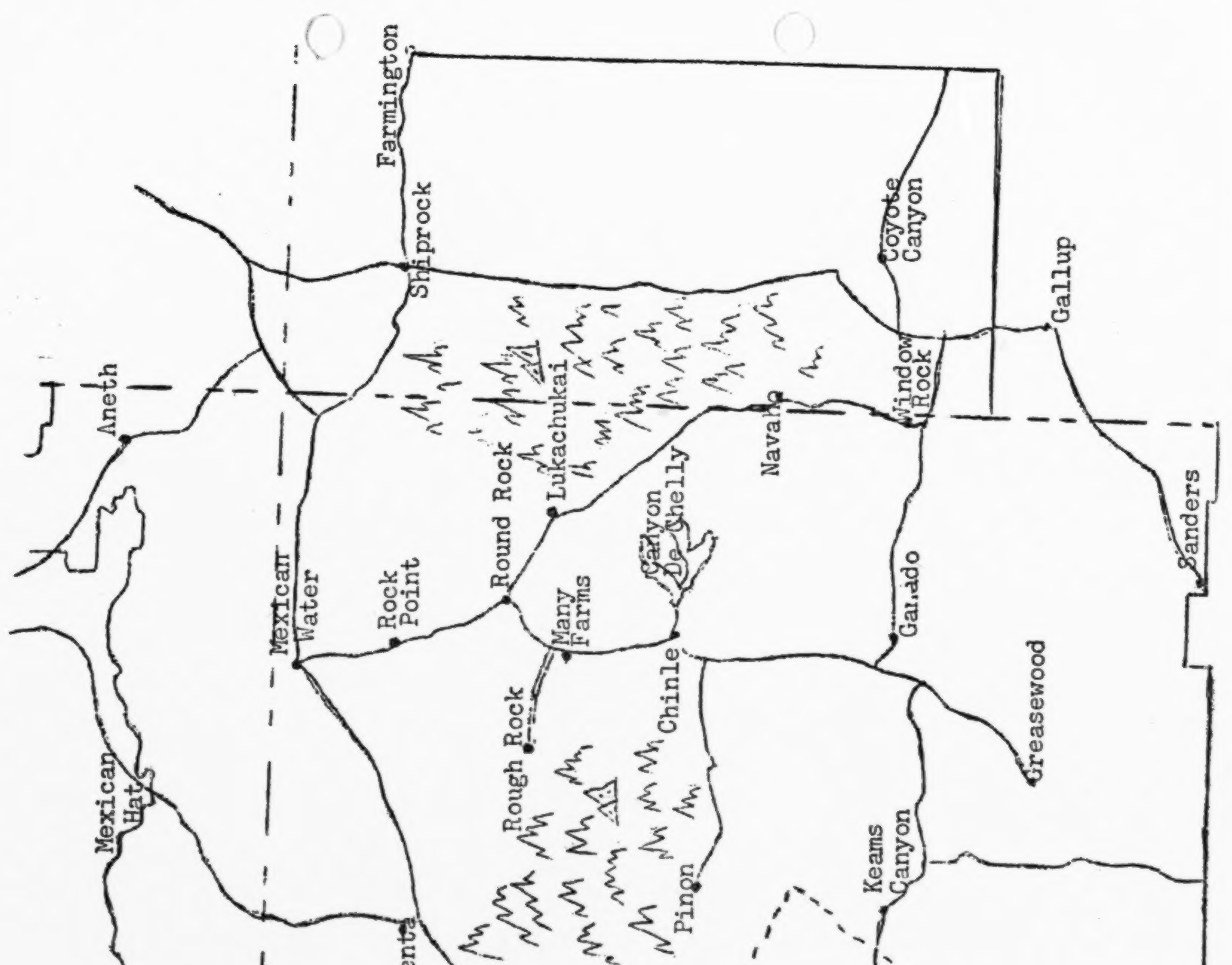
NAVAHO RESERVATION
Farmington
Shiprock
Coyote Canyon
Gallup
Window Rock
Aneth
Lukachukai
Round Rock
Navaho
Canyon De Chelly
Sanders
Mexican Water
Rock Point
Many Farms
Ganado
Chinle
Greasewood
Rough Rock
Mexican Hat
Keams Canyon
Pinon
Kayenta
HOPI
RESERVATION
Seba Dalkai
Coal Mine
Tuba City
Page
Gap
Gray Mt.
Flagstaff

Fig. 2.1 Map of Navaho Reservation

frequent.

The Navaho Tribe is subdivided, politically, into more than ninety chapters, each electing a representative to the Tribal Council. Neither the Tribal Council nor the chapters were a part of traditional Navaho culture; they were imposed, for all practical purposes, by the white man. But they are taking root. In some areas, chapters are very active; in other areas, like Rough Rock, apparently few people attend chapter meetings or pay much attention to politics. The chapter's major functions are to manage public works money from the tribe, settle local grazing disputes, and promote community development and welfare. Meetings are usually held twice a month to transact local business and hear reports from the local representative of the Tribal Council.

According to a recent document of the Tribal Council, approximately 32,000 of the 120,000 Navahos on the reservation are in the labor force, but at least half of these are unemployed most of the time. More than half the population is under 18 years of age. Some 40,000 Navahos are enrolled in school, with about 1,500 graduating from high school each year. About 600 are attending college. Another 700 or so are enrolled in vocational training courses and 600 in on-the-job training activities.

Mineral deposits of many kinds are found on the reservation, largely untapped, in addition to cement and limestone materials, clay materials, gypsum, semi-precious stones, and special sands. The tribe maintains its own lumber mill, producing some 40 million board feet of lumber annually. The Navaho Tribal Utility Authority is the major supplier of electricity, natural gas, water, and sewer services on the reservation, though these are limited, generally, to towns and federal installations. In the Rough Rock area, it is reported that only two homes out in the community have electricity. Running water is virtually unknown in the camps in which most Navahos live. The tribe is endeavoring to encourage the small industrial complexes that are developing near Shiprock, Gallup, and Fort Defiance. While our study was in progress, the first supermarket on the reservation was opened at Window Rock, with prices dramatically lower than could be found anywhere else within at least 100 miles. There is no doubt that Navahos will benefit from lower living costs as a result. We understand that a percentage of the profits from the store are channeled to the tribe.

Chinle is the only notable town in the part of the reservation where the four schools in our sample are found (see Fig. 2.2). The town is about 70 miles northwest of Window Rock, the tribal headquarters, and 91 miles north of Gallup, New Mexico, the nearest city. Chinle has three trading posts, each with a filling station, two with cafes, and one with a motel; an additional motel and cafe; three additional filling stations; a Catholic church with an auditorium used for dances and other community functions; a fairly large, well appointed community center; a Public Health Service clinic; a laundromat; a chapter house with a separate building used for pre-school classes; public elementary, junior high, and senior high schools; the large BIA boarding school; the numerous offices of the BIA Chinle Agency; a Navaho Police station; a relatively large post office; a local office of DNA, the federally funded legal assistance agency for Navaho people; a nonfunctioning branch of the tribal Arts and Crafts league; an office of ONEO(Office of Navaho Economic Opportunity); a low-cost housing project; and several collections of box-like homes, usually federally erected, in which most employees of these agencies live. Just east of town is the Canyon De Chelly National Monument, a magnificent canyon with towering multi-colored cliffs and ancient cliff dwellings. A few feet away from the rim, however, the canyon is invisible. There seems to be little sense of community in Chinle. BIA employees live in one block of houses, public school employees in another. Relatively small cliques carry on their separate social activities. BIA personnel are reputed to stay aloof from local politics.

Rock Point is nothing but a crossroads, with trading post, chapter house, and Lutheran mission with school and small hospital (see Fig. 2.3). The BIA-operated Rock Point Boarding School is situated roughly a mile east.

The "town" of Rough Rock, about a mile west of the demonstration school, consists of a few buildings in a hollow near a huge, rough rock--a trading post, a mission, the old rock building once used as a school, some house trailers, the chapter house, and, up on a mesa, the landing strip. (see Fig. 2.4). Population estimates for the area served by the Rough Rock School, comprising about 900 square miles,

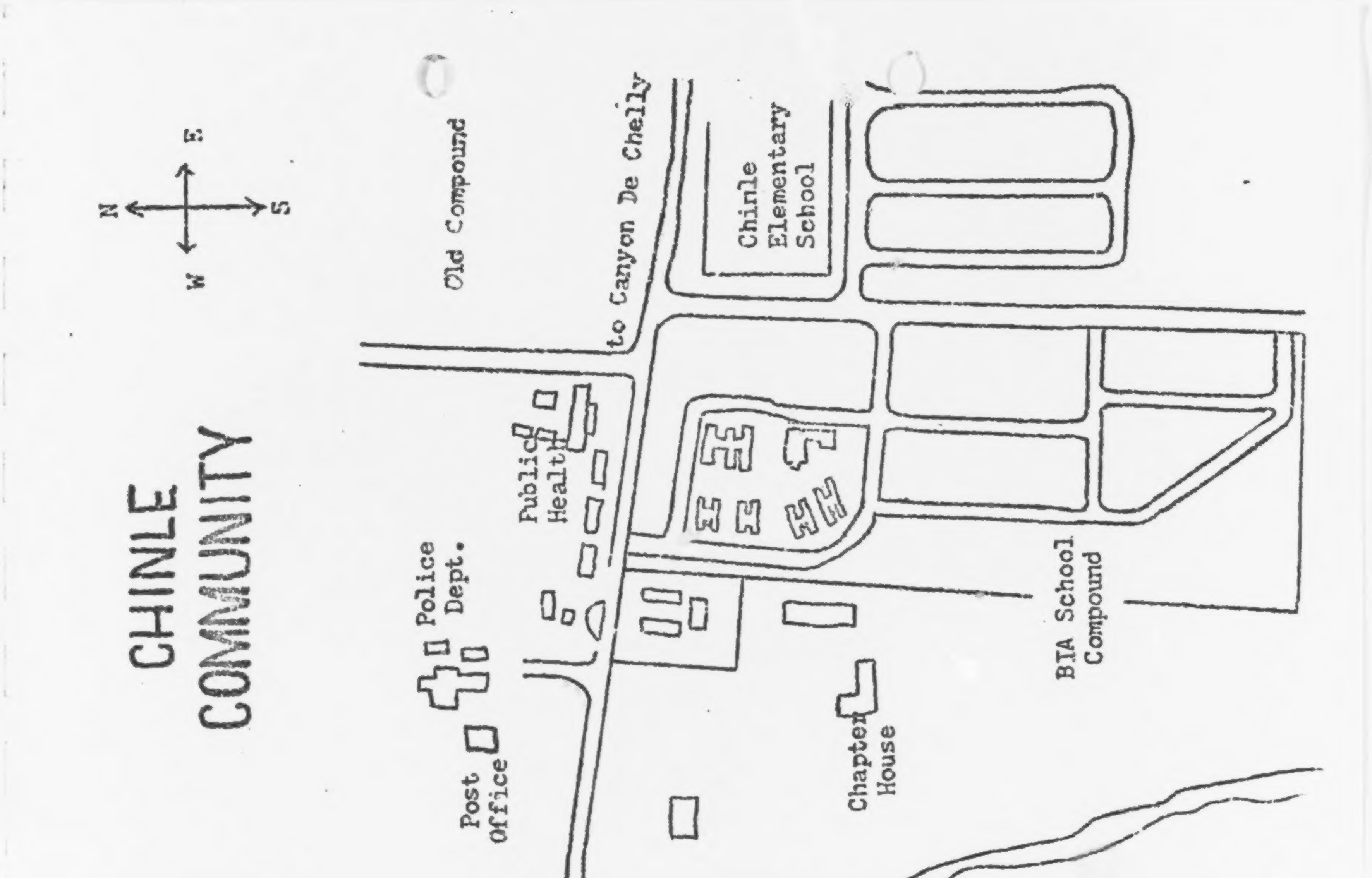
CHINLE COMMUNITY
N
S
E
W
Old Compound
to Canyon De Chelly
Chinle Elementary School
Public Health
Police Dept.
Post Office
Chapter House
BIA School Compound
Rodeo Grounds
Canyon De Chelly Motel
Low Rent Housing
Fleming Begay's
Chinle High School
Chinle Community Center
To Rock Point
Fouch Rock

Fig. 2.2 Map of Chinle (approximate)

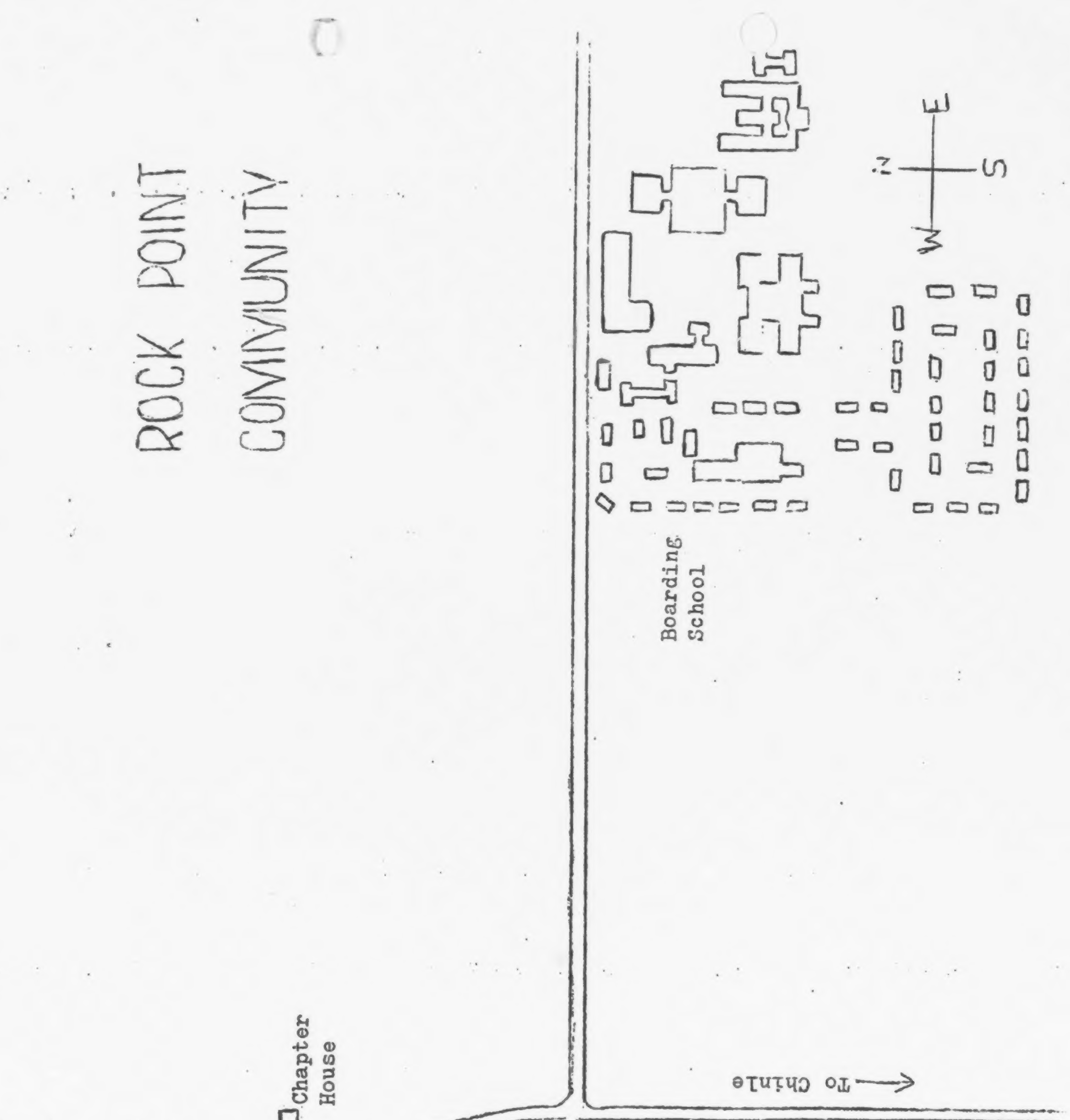
ROCK POINT COMMUNITY
Boarding School
N
E
S
W
Chapter House
To Chinle
To Mexican Water
Trading Post
Lutheran Mission

Fig. 2.3 Map of Rock Point (approximate)

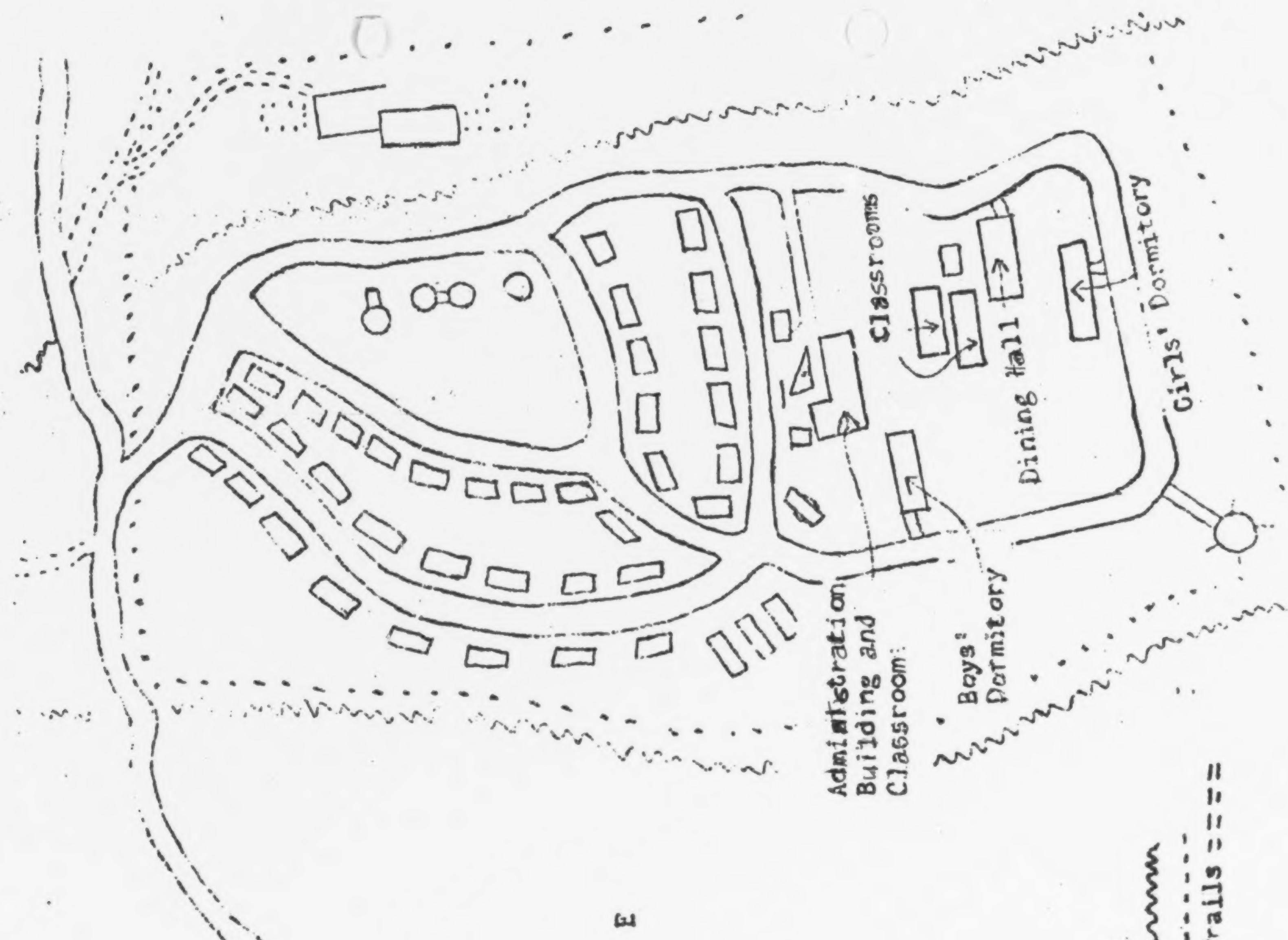
Air Strip
Windmill
Chapter House
Mission
Trailors
Old School
Trading Post
ROUGH ROCK COMMUNITY
N
W
E
S
Washes
Fences
Wagon Trails
Administration Building and Classroom
Boys' Dormitory
Classrooms
Dining Hall
Girls' Dormitory

Fig. 2.4 Map of Rough Rock (approximate)

have ranged from 600 to 1200. For a few years a small school at the Friends mission served the area, but at the time of our study it was closed. Because pavement is 16 miles away, Rough Rock is the most isolated school in our study. Except when main roads are blocked by an unusually heavy snowfall, personnel at the Chinle and Rock Point schools may always drive off for a change of scene. Rock Point is only 15 paved miles south of Mexican Water, a roadside cafe and trading post to which one may flee for ham and eggs or steak with French fries as a change from dorm-school fare. In addition to Chinle eateries, the Many Farms cafe is available eighteen miles away; it lacks something in decor but provides superb Mexican food. Or when the hankering for city streets becomes especially intense, Chinle and Rock Point personnel may rush off to Farmington, Gallup, or even Albuquerque for a weekend. For days on end in the bad weather, these alternatives are unavailable at Rough Rock. There is little reason to believe, however, that Rough Rock's Navaho families are more isolated than the other families in our sample, with the possible exception of Navahos from the Rock Point Boarding School and Chinle Public School who live close to the pavement. Most Navahos in the area are effectively immobilized by bad weather, regardless of how their schools are situated. They live, not in villages, but in extended-family camps, widely scattered through the countryside.

To an Anglo staying in a BIA school compound, Rough Rock feels more rural, more isolated, than Chinle or Rock Point. One remembers the long drive across the rutted road and knows he may have trouble returning in case of rain. Rock Point is the most colorful of the three locations, for promontories and peaks of red sandstone are near at hand. At Chinle, the beautiful canyon is not far away. But in general, the terrain is very similar, rolling mesas interlaced with dry gullies and occasional outcroppings of rock. Temperatures range mostly from a few degrees below zero to the upper nineties, though 30° below and 110° above are not unknown. Rainfall is very limited, coming mostly in July and August. There is much wind, with periodic sandstorms, in late spring and early fall.

Health care is provided, for the most part, by Public Health Service Clinics. In the larger centers, like Chinle, clinics are open five or six days a week. In more remote areas, like Rough Rock, the doctor may come only once a week or so. Full- or part-time nurses are generally available at the boarding schools.

BIA installations on the reservation represent the Terra Haute school of warehouse architecture, vintage 1930. Their crass water towers are visible for miles, affronting the landscape. Practically, however, the federal school is an oasis of security in a land where life is hard. Here is shelter from sun and sandstorm in the summer, blizzard and cold in the winter. Here is copious water from the federal pump, nutritious food three times a day, medical care when a child is ill. Here are soft beds, plumbing, and, if one is lucky, wages to be earned. Here is education, promising the young a better future.

In an effort to picture with more immediacy what life is like in areas like Rough Rock, Rock Point, and the isolated areas from which most of our Chinle pupils and parents were drawn, we include the following passages directly from our observational notes:

> We visited seven homes within about a ten mile-radius of the school. . . . The loneliness and the isolation of the general region was overwhelming, at least for an Anglo from the city. There was scrub pine, some juniper, some cactus, but the land within the ten-mile radius of the school which we travelled toward Many Farms and Kayenta was so terribly over-grazed as to give the impression of dead land. Suddenly I understood why: The camps were in rather close proximity, no more than five to seven miles apart, and accommodated one, two, three, and sometimes four nuclear family groupings. The economic mainstay of the camps was livestock, primarily sheep It was the "well-to-do" man, the board member, who had cattle. Other jobs or means of economic support seemed to be centered around the school, the Public Health Clinic at Chinle, the schools at Many Farms. One or two people were employed on the Trading Post. (The regularly employed people didn't live in camps out in the community.) The community served by the school is scattered from the top of the Mesa to the Many Farms area to the road to Kayenta, and some children come from as far away as Tuba City. It requires real effort for these parents, particularly the ones up on the Mesa or even in the more remote areas below, to get to the school. Although many have pick-up trucks, a number (including one board member) have only horses for transportation. We travelled the bus route taken each day to bring day students and Headstart and kindergarten children to the school. When it rains or snows these roads are going to be impassable; they're simply truck trails through the desert. A grader rented from BIA had just finished grading most of the bus route, but it was still a very primitive ride from camp to camp. We saw many washes and gullies, but no water on the entire trip. The firewood stacked beside the homes or in other areas of the camps, the wood used to build the corrals for the sheep, must be brought from many miles away. There simply is nothing around to chop. From time to time along the road, we saw trucks coming from Rough Rock or Kayenta or the Mesa with loads of firewood. From what we were able to tell, at least on this visit, and from what ____________ indicated from his home visits and from what ____________ ,who is familiar with this area, tells me, the school, the Trading Post, the Chapter House, the

Quaker Missi the old school, and perhaps one two of the residences in the community are the only places with running water and electric light. Everyone else must haul water from as much as five miles away, and with the exception of kerosene lamps and whatever light is given off by the cookstove or the wood burning pot-bellied stove, there is no artificial light available.

Herds of sheep were scattered over the range. One member of the board, a Mr. __________, has quite a reputation as a stock man, and apparently has some cattle. We saw only two lonely looking Hereford steers out across the range. But his home and the home of another board member, ___________, were much more elaborate than the other homes we visited.

The homes ranged from the traditional eight-sided log hogan, with the hole in the roof and the stove pipe extended through it, to a relatively spacious two-room cement-block dwelling with sewing machine, chairs, and a couch. The first camp we visited had a kind of a wood storage shed, a typical Navaho corral made of branches, a thatched log shed (apparently a chicken house), a slaughter house, and a one-room adobe or stucco dwelling. This was the camp of a famous medicine man in the area. He was away. We talked with his wife. Miss ___________ /the teacher/ told how Margaret was doing in school, displaying a folder that showed Margaret's work. The grandmother couldn't see too well. She seemed quite old. There were just two chairs, and ___________ and I were asked to sit on them while Miss _________, the teacher, kind of squatted on the floor. Mrs. ___________ talked about her arthritis. There was a loom in the corner with a Navaho rug started on it. Mr. _________ and Miss ___________ encouraged the grandmother to have Margaret come to school and study hard. Mrs. ___________ said she would do this. There was a single bed in the room and a cookstove. No books or magazines or papers were visible. There was no running water and no electric light. The spread on the bed was identical to those used in the Rough Rock dormitories.

At the next home, the parents were away--working in Colorado at a uranium plant. The grandmother had custody of the child. The physical setting of the camp was pretty much the same as the previous camp, except for two single-room dwellings not far away. Again Miss _________ explained the work of the children, and the grandmother seemed interested. We noticed two school-age girls, as well as an older woman, in the house. Apparently the girls were trying to hide when we pulled up, thinking the grandmother would talk with us in the shed or outside. They seemed embarrassed when we walked in. There were also three small children in the room. There was quite an elaborate battery radio on a chest of drawers--no electricity. Religious pictures hung on the walls, along with a picture of a high school graduate and a young man in a sailor's uniform. No running water. Mr. ___________ asked the girls why they were not in school. They appeared embarrassed. One gave the excuse that she had to stay home to take care of her younger brother. The other had no excuse, really, but said she would be back at school tomorrow.

The third camp we visited was that of __________. As in the other two homes there were no books, no reading materials of any kind, but cosmetics exhibited in a wide variety. This home also had a rather elaborate guitar on the wall. The dwelling was an eight-sided traditional hogan, with mud chinks, cookstove in the middle, and a hole in the roof. We sat on the two beds. There were no chairs. From time to time a huge turkey wandered in and pecked at things on the dirt floor (a Navaho garbage-disposal machine?). In all of the camps were assorted dogs and cats, roaming freely. The little girl in this camp, about three years of age, was barefoot, wandering in and out and looking at us from time to time. The mother seemed pleased by the work of her children, particularly a picture her daughter had drawn. The hogan was decorated with pictures of children and of a country western music group which, I presumed, had some relative in it. The mother told about falling off a horse and hurting her hand, which had not healed properly. Mr. __________, Miss __________, and the parent joked and chatted amicably in Navaho.

The next home was that of __________, a board member, reputed to be a well-to-do stock man. His rather substantial cement-block home had two rooms. One, a living-bedroom area, was reasonably well furnished. It had two couches, a bed, an ironing board, a sewing machine, a rather elaborate cut velvet scarf or mural hung on the wall, a display of exquisite turquoise jewelry over a large array of cosmetics, and a corner almost completely filled by pictures. In one corner of the room, a bookcase held children's workbooks, an arithmetic book, magazines, The Navajo Times, and a Sears catalogue. Several pictures showed high school graduates in caps and gowns. There were several award ribbons from the Chinle speech tournament; prominently displayed, a picture of the board of the Rough Rock School; mirrors, baskets, and expensive-looking deerskins and sheepskins; a large map of the school district with the roads marked in red; and statues of horses on almost every flat surface.

The second room served as a kitchen. It had homemade wooden furniture--a table, a cookstove, and several storage cabinets. This home did not have running water or electricity either. The interior was finished with wallboard, painted a rather sudden shade of blue. While it could use repainting, it was probably the best kept and most elaborate of the homes we visited, with wood floor and rugs scattered about. There were several workers about the camp, and several other buildings, sheds, and corrals. Mrs. __________ was much better dressed and much cleaner than the other women we visited and wore lovely turquoise bracelets. She was setting wool when we came in.

The town of Rough Rock, if it can be called a town, had the customary Trading Post (cleaner than many I saw at Tuba City or Chinle and relatively well stocked but with exorbitant prices). Behind the Trading Post was a shack used as a warehouse and a house trailer presumably used by one of the employees. Off to one side, was a rather substantial stucco home with an air conditioner, where I understood the trader and his wife, both Anglo, lived. The Trading Post was nestled in the corner of two rather large cliffs. Up along one side of the cliff, the side closest to the Rough Rock trail, was a corral for sheep and cattle, which the trader sold to the local people. About half a mile from the Trading Post, on the road toward the school, was the Chapter House where the community people came to meet and talk with their tribal representatives. Across the road from the house where the trader lived was the old school building, clustered with three old house trailers used as housing for Navaho employees at the Rough Rock School. About two city blocks from the old school was the Quaker Mission and Child Development Center, the missionary home, and the church. The school or Child Development Center had a playground in front of it and was composed of two one-story cement block buildings joined together.

The Trading Post had facilities for gasoline and kerosene, but apparently no motor repair facilities. There were no restaurants, no bars, no theatres --nothing except the Trading Post. On a Saturday, Navaho families, in their wagons or pick-up trucks or on foot, came to the post to get provisions. They were, it seemed to me, very traditional Navahos, right out of Kluckhohn's books. Mr __________ said he thought the people in this area were more traditional than Navahos around Kayenta or Tuba City, where people were tending to move into the town or village complex. However, many young men in this area had been able to get pick-up trucks, which gave them greater mobility. The men were straight-brimmed ten gallon hats, breeches,

> and plaid shirts, sometimes with a denim jacket or sheepskin-lined suede jacket. The women wore long skirts and velvet blouses, their hair in the traditional knot, whatever silver jewelry they had, and usually Pembleton blankets. Instead of traditional moccassins, most of them wore tennis shoes and ankle socks. About four or five pick-ups stopped at the Trading Post during the twenty minutes we were there on Saturday, and two or three customers were inside. ____________ said the store was quite crowded, and there was a lot of traffic, for that time on Saturday afternoon. One Navaho family drove up in a 1968 Plymouth, and several men who had come in pick-ups laughed and scoffed, saying that car wouldn't last very long. The pick-ups were in relatively good condition and of recent vintage. Very few were more than two or three years old. Perhaps a truck just didn't last more than two years out there, no matter what make or model it was.

While our study was in process, we gathered some data to test the assumption with which we began--that the pupils in the sample, selected by the methods we used, were from similar Navaho homes. Table 2.1 summarizes the reports of pupils concerning languages spoken at home.[1] Ignoring, for the moment, the one Rough Rock response under "English only," we consulted a binomial distribution table and determined that no percentage differences among schools in the table were statistically significant at the .05 level, though the differences between Rough Rock and Chinle Public were close to significance.

Table 2.1 Languages Spoken at Home, as Reported by Pupils.

School	Per Cent of Pupils Who Say			
	English only (N)	Navaho only (N)	English and Navaho (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	- -	80.3 (61)	19.7 (15)	100.0 (76)
Chinle Public	- -	73.7 (14)	26.3 (5)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	1.8 (1)	91.2 (52)	7.0 (4)	100.0 (57)
Rock Point	- -	85.7 (60)	14.3 (10)	100.0 (70)

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[1] On numerous occasions when analyzing our data, we have reluctantly discarded more elegant statistical analyses, under pressure of time, in favor of short-cut methods, but we have been careful not to sacrifice accuracy in so doing.

Tables 2.2 and 2.3, respectively, summarize reports of the parents in our sample concerning the education they had received and the places in which they had lived. (In chapter 3, we will describe in detail the interviewing of these parents and consider whether the actual sample may be considered representative.) in the light of the comparatively small numbers of respondents, only the largest differences between schools in these tables are significant statistically. If, on the contrary, the differences are taken seriously, they tend to cancel each other out from table to table. In terms of languages spoken at home, Rough Rock leans toward the traditional more than the other communities. In terms of the education of parents and guardians, Rough Rock may be the least traditional. In terms of residential mobility, Rock Point may be the most isolated community, followed by the communities from which our Chinle Public sample is drawn and then by Rough Rock. The most defensible conclusion to reach on the basis of the three tables, we think, is that the communities in question are probably very comparable, with only chance variations reflected in the responses of the small samples considered here.

Table 2.2 Extent of Education of Parents and Guardians Interviewed (Self-reported)

School	Per Cent Reporting None (N)	Up to 2 Years (N)	2.1 to 5 Years (N)	5.1 to 8 Years (N)	8.1 to 12 Years (N)	Some (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	81.8 (9)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	66.7 (6)	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	22.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	55.6 (15)	11.1 (3)	22.2 (6)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	52.9 (9)	0.0 (0)	29.4 (5)	11.8 (2)	5.9 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)

History and Organizational Structure

During 1964 and 1965, Sanford Kravitz, then Associate Director for Research and Development within OEO's Community Action Program, was looking for promising ideas to actuate under the War on Poverty.[1] He had met Robert Roessell, then a professor at Arizona State University, during the days when President Johnson had several task forces working to conceptualize promising approaches that might be supported under the *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.* Roessel was a member

Table 2.3 Residential Mobility of Parents and Guardians Interviewed.

	Per Cent Reporting They Have Lived			
School	Here Only (N)	Elsewhere on Reservation (N)	Off the Reservation (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	63.6 (7)	36.4 (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	88.9 (8)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	70.4 (19)	25.9 (7)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	100.0 (17)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)

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[1] This brief discussion of the origins of the Rough Rock Demonstration School is based primarily on interviews with Sanford Kravitz, Professor in the School of Social Services Administration, Brandeis University; Carl Marburger, formerly Associate Commissioner for Education of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, now Commissioner of Education for the State of New Jersey; Stan Sillett, a former officer of OEO, now on Marburger's staff; Tom Reno, who directed the demonstration staff during the experiment at Lukachukai, currently on staff at the Navaho Community College, Many Farms, Arizona; William T. Benham, Jr., Navaho Area Director of Schools for the BIA; Graham Holmes, Director of the Navaho Area of the BIA; and Robert Roessel, now president of the Navaho Community College in Many Farms. We examined the relevant historical accounts by Rough Rock spokesmen, particularly Robert A. Roessel, Jr., "An Overview of the Rough Rock Demonstration School," *Journal of American Indian Education*, VII (May, 1969), 2-14; and Broderick H. Johnson, *Navaho Education at Rough Rock* (Rough Rock, Arizona: Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1968), pp. 15-26. Also useful was a discussion of Rough Rock's origins by George Pierre Castile, who was on staff at OEO at the time, in "The Community School at Rough Rock" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, 1968).

of the task force on Indian affairs. When they met from time to time in Washington and elsewhere, Kravitz kept asking Roessel what should be done to improve the education of American Indians. Roessel and several of his colleagues had been discussing the same topic with officials of the Navaho tribe for several months. Four concepts that Roessel mentioned seemed particularly meritorious to Kravitz: (1) Indians would never give schools their wholehearted moral support until they were involved significantly as adults and given a measure of control. (2) English must be taught as a second language to Indian children, not regarded as something they could learn immediately through mere exposure. (3) The schools should be responsible, not only for educating Indian children, but for assisting in the development of local communities, through extensive adult education opportunities and other means. (4) The schools should help transmit to the young the cultures of their parents; tribal elders should be used by the schools, for instance, to teach traditional materials.

With encouragement from Kravitz, Roessel began exploring various ways of putting these ideas into practice. He discussed alternatives with officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Navaho Tribal Council and scouted around the Navaho reservation for a likely location. Schools at Rough Rock, Lukachukai, and Rock Point were considered, and finally, for reasons that seem unclear, Lukachukai was selected. An attempt was made at Lukachukai during 1965-66 to apply many of the concepts now associated with Rough Rock.

There is general agreement that the Lukachukai experiment failed. Since we have not attempted to study systematically the history of that effort, we cannot speak definitively of causes. On one conclusion, however, those interviewed on the topic seemed unanimous: The Lukachukai project was hampered by administrative duality. The former principal of the school continued in office, functioning, with her staff, within BIA's usual bureaucratic framework. The new "demonstration staff" was separate, under the direction of a different administrator, and even housed in a different area of the school compound. When the demonstration staff or the newly created Navaho school board attempted to launch unconventional programs, they encountered resistance from the regular staff members, who saw most new approaches as incompatible with BIA policy and acted, understandably, to protect their own careers within the Bureau.

OEO officials were disturbed, feeling that the ideas behind the project had not been given a chance at Lukachukai. Along with BIA personnel from Washington and Window Rock (BIA's Navaho Area headquarters), they made a trip to Lukachukai early in 1966 to consider alternatives. BIA officials then suggested making a new beginning at Rough Rock, where a boarding school plant had just been completed. at a cost of approximately $3.5 million. Since an entirely new staff could be created there, they pointed out, success might be more easily achieved. Kravitz of OEO argued that the experiment would again fail if the usual civil service requirements and BIA policies remained in force. There was discussion, furthermore, about the need for a man of Roessel's stature to administer the project. In time, these problems were resolved. BIA contributed the school plant and the usual per-pupil fiscal allotment while permitting the experiment to function independently. OEO provided extra funds to make a major impact feasible. Though torn by previous commitments and family plans, Roessel consented to direct the project. It was difficult to refuse, he explained, for he had advocated this kind of action for years.

It was planned at this point to allot federal funds for Rough Rock to the Navaho Tribal Council, which would delegate operating responsibilities to locally elected officials. Accordingly, the Many Farms-Rough Rock chapter elected a five-member school board. In Window Rock, BIA's Navaho Area Director, (Graham Holmes) and Area Educational Director (William T. Benham) hurriedly prepared documents for tribal officials to sign. As Holmes and Benham walked across the street to deliver the papers, the Tribal Council adjourned its annual session. The chairman had authority to call a special meeting at any time, but there were indications of disagreement on the Tribal Education Committee concerning sponsorship of the Rough Rock venture. The end of the federal fiscal year was so close that support for the project would be lost for a year if an agency to which OEO could make funds available were not found quickly. Virtually in desperation, a special non-profit corporation was formed, under the laws of Arizona, to meet the exigency.

The corporation thus created was called DINE, (dĭ-nā') Inc. DINE, by happy accident, is both the acronym for Demonstration in Navaho Education and the term

Navahos use to refer to themselves, "The People." Dine's first directors were Allen D. Yazzie, a member of the Tribal Council, Ned Hatathli, now Vice President of the Navaho Community College, and Guy Gorman, electrician, operating engineer, and member of the Chinle Public School Board that we examined as part of this study.

Dine was incorporated on June 27, 1966. By means of an informal "gentleman's agreement," its directors promising to regard the Rough Rock school board's decisions as final. The Rough Rock Demonstration School became a functioning organization on July 1, 1966. The first board meeting, held jointly by the school board and the Dine directors, was held on July 26, 1966. On September 12, approximately 150 pupils were enrolled, and classes began. By the end of the month, the school was serving 27 day pupils and 193 dormitory pupils. Ninety-one full-time employees were on staff, aided by 15 VISTAS.[1]

Rock Point has had its BIA boarding school for many years, but at one time the school was very small. When the present principal, Wayne Holm, arrived in 1958, he was asked very pointedly, at a community meeting, to explain why new school buildings were not being erected. Apprarently some official passing through two or three years earlier had made a promise to that effect. As one who had emphasized, like Robert Roessel, the need of community involvement in schools for American Indians, Holm saw the situation as an opportunity. He urged the community to organize and agitate if they wanted a larger school. An educational committee was formed by the Rock Point chapter for the purpose. Numerous letters were sent to agency headquarters in Chinle, to area headquarters in Window Rock, and to Washington; representatives of the community journeyed to Chinle and Window Rock from time to time to make their wishes known.

At one point, BIA official began to talk of erecting a single large school at Rough Rock to serve the Rough Rock and Rock Point communities. At least partly at Holm's urging, Rock Point leaders opposed the idea. It would have made parental involvement very difficult to achieve at Rock Point because of distance and poor roads.

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[1] Volunteers in Service to America, members of the domestic "Peace Corps."

Finally, in 1963-64, the Rock Point school was expanded. Shortly thereafter, in 1964, Holm added to his staff a specialist in Teaching English as a Second Language, (TESL), Elizabeth Willink, and with some backing from the Washington, Window Rock, and Chinle BIA offices, special experimental efforts were carried forward, especially in TESL.

Mrs. Willink had begun teaching on the Navaho reservation at Shiprock in 1957, and almost immediately had felt the need of better methods for teaching English to Navaho children. Soon she became acquainted with the TESL movement and with Wayne Holm, whose interests were very similar. At every opportunity, she began urging BIA officials to adopt TESL's structural-linguistic teaching methods. Between 1960 and 1962, BIA provided workshops at which Mrs. Willink and a group of interested teachers created their first materials and teaching guides for adapting TESL to Navahos. Initial experimentation at Shiprock appeared to produce encouraging results.

In 1961, Mrs. Willink went to the University of Arizona, where she earned a Ph. D. while developing her ideas and methods further. Since she wanted a chance to experiment further in a small school with a stable population, and since she had confidence in Holm, she persuaded BIA to create a special position for her at Rock Point and began work there upon graduation, early in 1964.

The available evidence suggests that TESL activities at Rock Point were viewed with considerable suspicion by agency and area BIA officials until 1966, at which time area boundaries were realigned, an area office exclusively for the Navaho was created at Window Rock, and William T. Benham took over as Area Director of Schools. Rock Point became "respectable," for Benham soon announced his intention to emphasize TESL and other experimental ventures, not only at Rock Point and one other BIA "demonstration" school (Chuska), but in all schools in the Navaho area.

This action apparently resulted from Benham's efforts, in cooperation with Graham Holmes, director of all BIA activities in the Navaho area, to develop long-range goals. The two men met with the Educational Committee of the Navaho Tribe for a full week in March of 1966 and announced in April the following four aims:

1. To attack the unique problems of Indian students by the provision of unique programs suited to the needs of these students, such as the ESL /English as a Second Language/ Program.
2. To seek maximum, feasible involvement of parents and tribal leaders in the educational program.
3. To develop a public information program on a continuing basis, which reflects progress made.
4. To endeavor to assist in any way possible so that full utilization can be made of resources, including the Economic Opportunity Act, Public Law 89-10, and other similar programs which can benefit the Indian people.

These emphases coincided well with what Holm and Mrs. Willink were seeking at Rock Point. From this time onward, Rock Point personnel could concentrate more exclusively on programs inside the school and less on warding off attacks from outside. Just before our study began, in 1968, a second plant expansion was completed at Rock Point, but with minor exceptions the school had not yet taken possession of the new buildings when our data were gathered.

The BIA Boarding School at Chinle, as we noted in chapter 1, was much larger than the Rough Rock and Rock Point Schools. It enrolled about 825 pupils at the time of our study and served areas as distant as one hundred miles. There were three small "feeder schools" in the Chinle Boarding School's attendance area, at Pinon, Low Mountain, and Nazlini. These schools offered the early elementary grades to children in the vicinity, who then went on to Chinle for more advanced instruction. Because the "feeder schools" could not handle all children at the primary level, numbers of these were boarded at Chinle, along with the older pupils. Beginning in the 1968-69 school year, the sixth and seventh grades, previously offered at Chinle, were switched to the BIA boarding school at Many Farms, about 20 miles away. As a result, the Chinle school was less crowded than previously, and administrators reported discipline to be less of a problem. The school had previously served more than a thousand boarding students.

The principal at the Chinle Boarding School, Cleveland Miller, had been at the school for approximately 19 years at the time of our study, 14 years as administrator. His school, like many others, was affected by Benham's effort to emphasize TESL throughout the Navaho area. Miller had attempted to create a functioning school board, but had not yet succeeded. We encountered, as we will note in more detail later, an interesting attempt to introduce a Skinnerian "Behavioral Modification Program" into the dormitories. Beyond these efforts, Chinle Boarding School officials did not claim to be experimenting a great deal--certainly not as much as Rough Rock and Rock Point. Part of the explanation, at least, lies in the scandalously inadequate facilities and staff that were available at Chinle, a matter discussed in more detail later.

On the basis of limited data gathered concerning the Chinle Public Elementary School, it may be characterized tentatively as the least experimental school in the study. Chinle Public School District No. 24, in which it is located, is the largest in the United States in terms of area, covering approximately 6,000 square miles. The five members of its school board, however, are all drawn from Chinle and its immediate environs. As compared with public school districts elsewhere, it is also atypical in terms of finance. About 95 per cent of its $1.8 million in operating funds is derived from federal sources: approximately $600,000 under Public Law 73-167, $600,000 under Public Law 874, $170,000 under Public Law 89-10, and additional federal grants for such special functions as vocational education. Only $15,000 or so comes from local taxation and about $5,000 from the rental of apartments and other school-owned facilities. The rest is provided by the state. Under Arizona law, Chinle is classified as an elementary school district with "temporary" authority to teach high school subjects. It maintains three elementary schools, one junior high school, one senior high school, and four classes in rooms rented from the BIA Boarding School at Red Mesa. Its superintendent, Joseph L. Matthews, had served in public schools on the reservation for 13 years, about 6 years in his current position.

The pupil population in the Chinle Public School system as a whole was 85 per cent Navaho and 15 per cent white and Negro. The latter 15 per cent were mostly children of parents employed by various federal agencies in the area. Since the town of Chinle had the largest concentration of federal employees in that part of the reservation, the proportion of non-Navaho pupils in the public elementary school was probably much larger than 15 per cent. With a few exceptions, made for reasons of safety, family hardship, etc., pupils on the reservation who live within walking distance (defined as one mile for elementary and 1 1/2 miles for secondary schools) of public school bus lines are required by law to attend public schools, except those whose parents are willing to send them to mission schools, usually on a tuition basis. Children who live beyond the walking distance must attend BIA boarding schools. In effect, public schools districts have the power to extend bus lines wherever they wish within district boundaries, and for each additional child bussed in, federal and state funds become automatically available. We encountered many complaints that the bus lines were arranged without any attempt to avoid fragmenting communities educationally by forcing some children to attend public schools while others attended BIA schools. Because the Chinle Boarding School was located near the Chinle Public School, all Boarding School employees' children were required to attend the public school,and the student body at Chinle Boarding itself was 100 per cent Navaho as a consequence. Numerous non-Navaho children attended the Rough Rock and Rock Point schools, for no public school bus lines extended into those areas.

The organizational structure of the Chinle Elementary Public School was typical for public education: the teachers functioned within a nondepartmentalized structure, reporting directly to the principal, Mrs. LaRue, who, along with other principals in the system, was directly responsible to the school superintendent, Joseph L. ("Jody") Matthews, the school board's chief executive.

The Chinle and Rock Point boarding schools both operated within the elaborate bureaucratic structure that is the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Most communications to and from Washington passed through the Navaho Area office in Window Rock and the Chinle Agency office in Chinle en route to or from the schools. Some decisions (relating to personnel, for example) were referred to yet another level, basically regional, in Gallup. In addition to professional educators, the area and agency offices had personnel responsible for numberous other areas of concern, such as Land Operations, Plant Management, Employment Assistance, Social Services, and Roads (see Fig. 2.5). Within the field of education itself, various staff specialists were attached to the area and agency offices, responsible for such matters as language arts, general curriculum, adult education, home economics and food services.

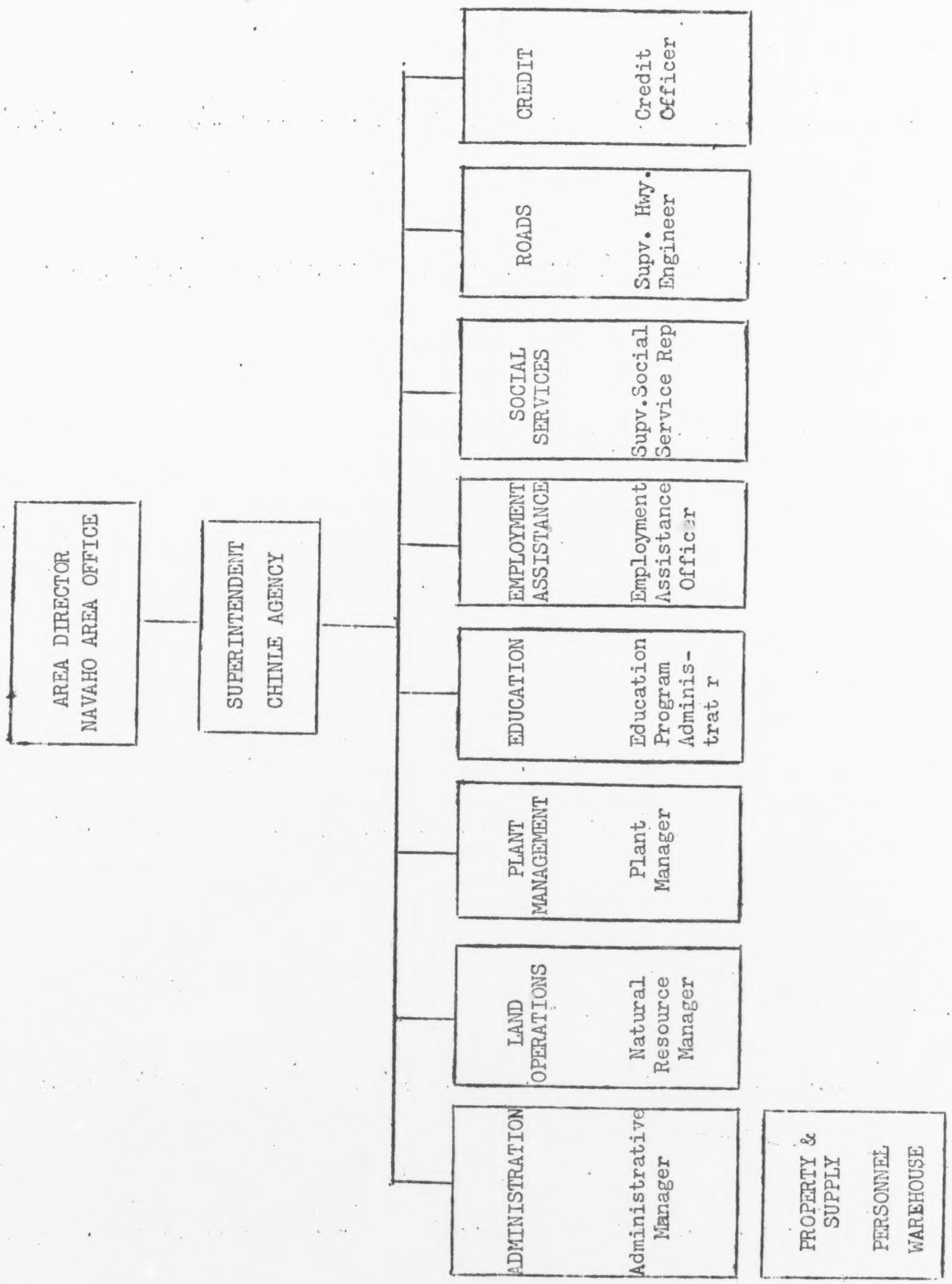
AREA DIRECTOR
NAVAHO AREA OFFICE
SUPERINTENDENT
CHINLE AGENCY
ADMINISTRATION
Administrative Manager
PROPERTY & SUPPLY
PERSONNEL
WAREHOUSE
LAND OPERATIONS
Natural Resource Manager
PLANT MANAGEMENT
Plant Manager
EDUCATION
Education Program Administrator
EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE
Employment Assistance Officer
SOCIAL SERVICES
Supv.Social Service Rep
ROADS
Supv. Hwy. Engineer
CREDIT
Credit Officer

Fig. 2.5 Organizational Chart, Chinle Agency Office, BIA

Further complications of the BIA structure were introduced by the budgetary purview of the Bureau of the Budget and the personnel restrictions of the Civil Service system. We encountered many complaints, usually very bitter, to the effect that planning was futile in BIA. People in individual schools and at area and agency levels would plan for months, they claimed, putting togerher rational objectives and a budget to fit them, only to discover that what was approved in Washington had no relationship to the plans. Allocations would be made in terms of such rigid categories that flexibility was out of the question. We encountered few negative comments about the civil service commission, but the many references to it bespoke elaborate rules governing qualifications, hiring, promotion, salary increments, sick leave, vacations, and terminations. Over the years, the bureau had developed an elaborate set of policies, covering virtually every area of school operation and incorporated for the most part into manuals and handbooks. The advantage of having staff behavior well specified was that the welfare of children, particularly in times of emergency, did not depend on the decisions of individuals, quickly made, but on procedures well pondered in advance. As disadvantages, the elaborate structure of expectations could reduce flexibility and promote a mechanistic, impersonal relationship between pupils and adult personnel. Particularly at Chinle Boarding, personnel complained that promising new ideas were usually rejected as "against bureau policy." As we will point out later, this perception may be somewhat inaccurate, but it does reflect well an elaborate regulatory system.

The principals of the numerous schools in the Chinle Agency reported to the Agency Superintendent of Schools (see Fig. 2.6). Partly, perhaps, because it was a large school offering 24-hour care, the Chinle Boarding School exhibited a strong internal emphasis on channels and formal procedures. Essentially, two independent hierarchies reported to the principal--one, comprised of the academic staff, ran the classrooms, and the other, comprised of people enjoying less status, operated the kitchen, dining hall, and dormitories. There was little direct communication between the two groups; most messages either way were cleared through the principal or his two assistants.

It is probably accurate to characterize Rock Point's principal as resisting the larger system's press toward uniformity. In an important sense, as later evidence will show, he seemed to insulate his staff members from the bureau's constraints. The Rock Point school was less formal, less characterized by the need to follow established policies and "channels."

As we mentioned earlier, Rough Rock was free to function outside the impingements of BIA and civil service regulations. It had broad discretion in the use of its funds. When the school began, it followed a unique scheme of organization that persisted, with rather slight modifications, until the time of our study (see Fig. 2.7). In essence, the school was divided into departments, each headed by an assistant director reporting to the director and his deputy: community services, dormitory services, educational services, and administrative services. Classroom personnel were not required to possess teaching certificates. BIA and Civil Service personnel regulations were not followed. We encountered not a single bureau handbook or manual. An extensive system of employment was created for local people who could not normally qualify for jobs in BIA schools.

One important difference between Rough Rock and Rock Point may be observed at this juncture: Though a very small BIA school at Rough Rock antedated the effort launched in 1966, the Rough Rock Demonstration School was essentially unrelated to what had occurred in the community earlier. In effect, it was an attempt to throw away all BIA blueprints for education and to create something better, to revamp the entire program and approach. Rock Point's experimental strategy, in effect, was gradualism--to work within the existing BIA framework, changing some components but leaving the general structure intact. It is our impression, furthermore, that the two approaches were congruent with the personalities and beliefs of the two leaders--Roessel, the forceful and dramatic philosopher-revolutionary, and Holm, the rational though charismatic philosopher-administrator.

Finances

In basic terms, it may be said that the Rough Rock Demonstration School received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs the money that would have been allocated

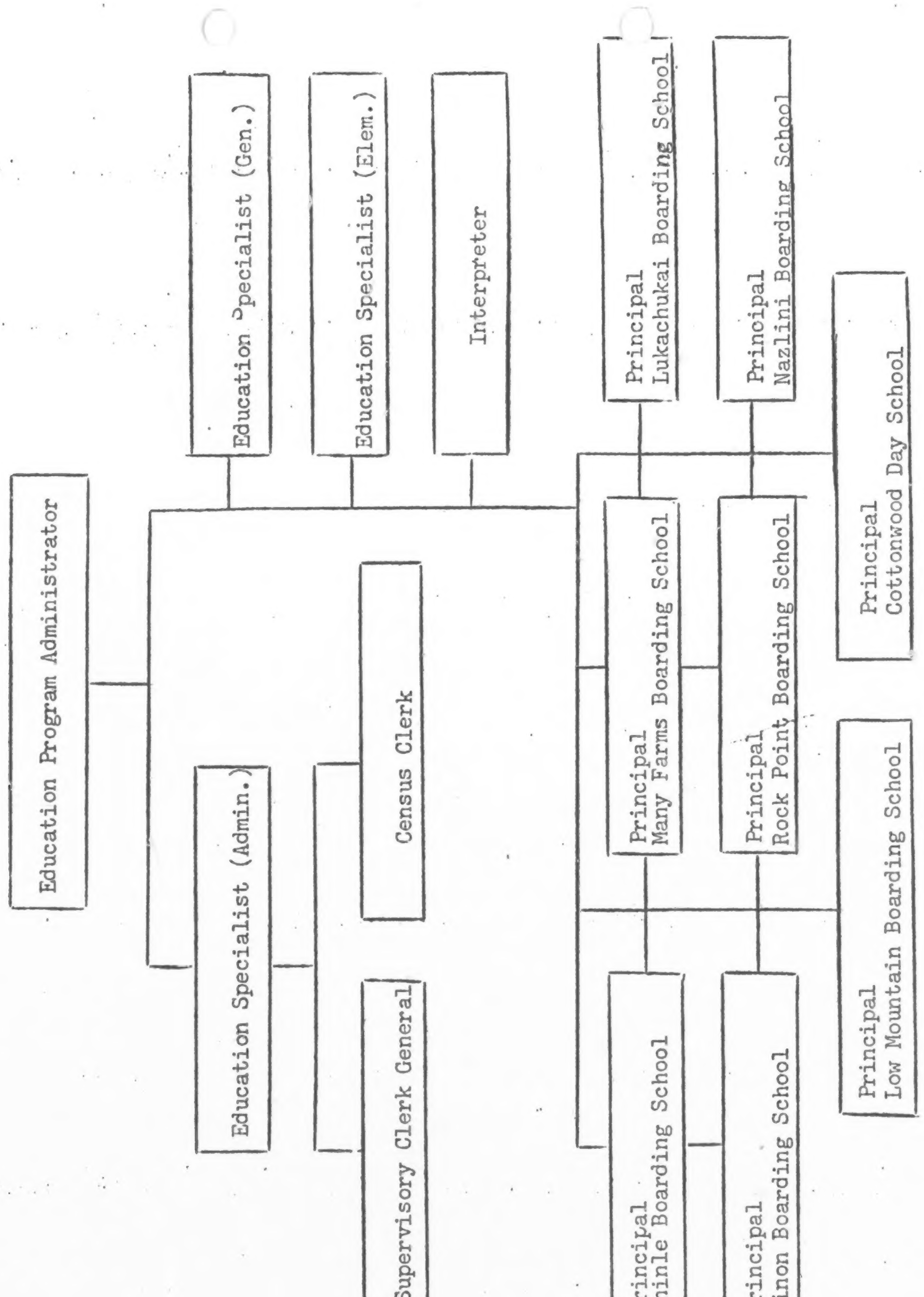
Education Program Administrator
Education Specialist (Gen.)
Education Specialist (Elem.)
Interpreter
Education Specialist (Admin.)
Census Clerk
Supervisory Clerk General
Principal
Lukachukai Boarding School
Principal
Nazlini Boarding School
Principal
Cottonwood Day School
Principal
Many Farms Boarding School
Principal
Rock Point Boarding School
Principal
Low Mountain Boarding School
Principal
Chinle Boarding School
Principal
Pinon Boarding School

Fig. 2.6 Organizational Chart, Chinle Agency Schools, BIA

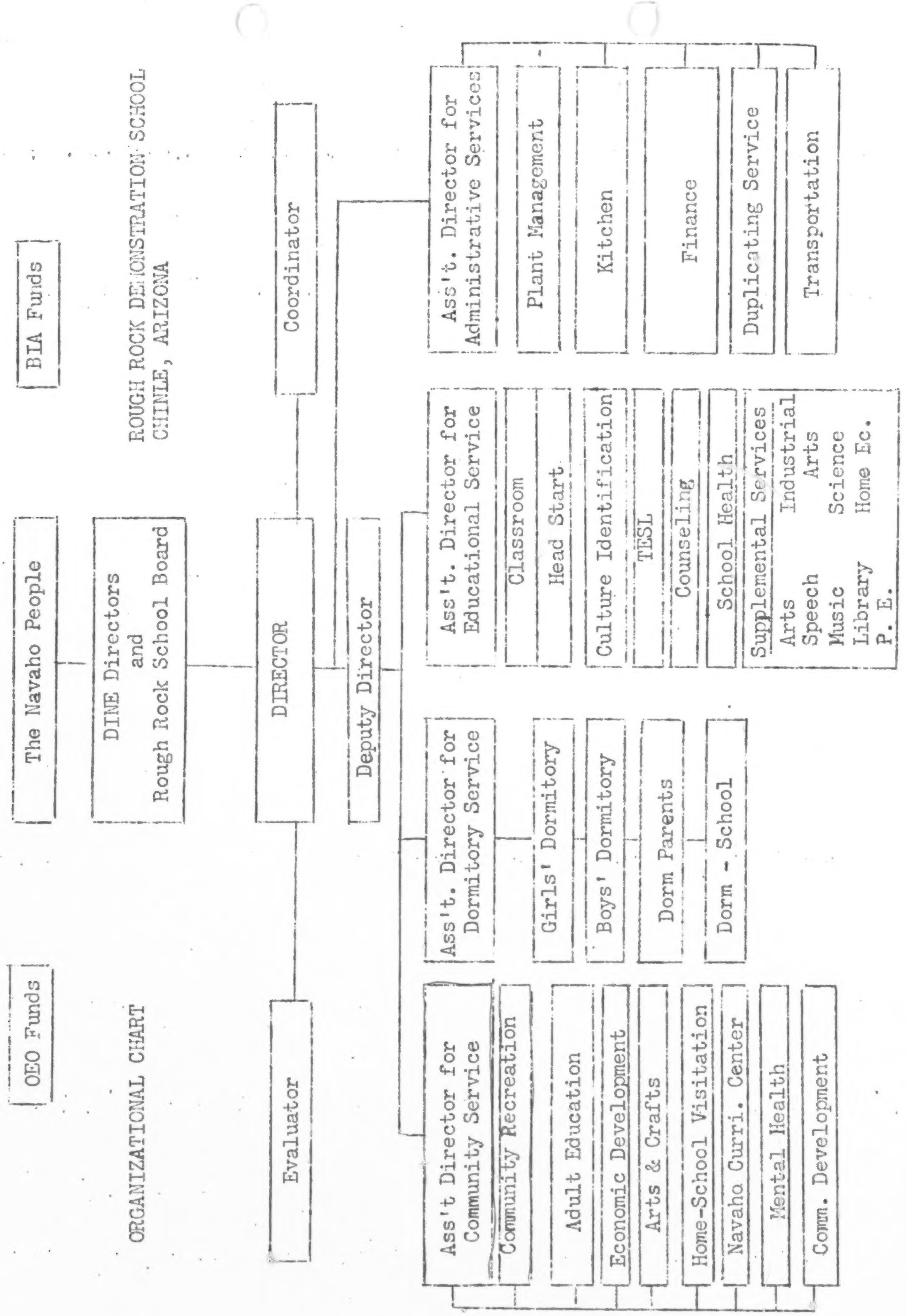
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL
CHINLE, ARIZONA
OEO Funds
The Navaho People
BIA Funds
DINE Directors and Rough Rock School Board
DIRECTOR
Evaluator
Coordinator
Deputy Director
Ass't Director for Community Service
Community Recreation
Adult Education
Economic Development
Arts & Crafts
Home-School Visitation
Navaho Curri. Center
Mental Health
Comm. Development
Ass't. Director for Dormitory Service
Girls' Dormitory
Boys' Dormitory
Dorm Parents
Dorm - School
Ass't. Director for Educational Service
Classroom
Head Start
Culture Identification
TESL
Counseling
School Health
Supplemental Services
Arts
Speech
Music
Library
P. E.
Industrial Arts
Science
Home Ec.
Ass't. Director for Administrative Services
Plant Management
Kitchen
Finance
Duplicating Service
Transportation

Fig. 2.7 Organizational Chart, Rough Rock Demonstration School

if a regular BIA school were functioning at Rough Rock.[1] Funds to make the school's special experimentation and demonstration possible were obtained from other sources.

In 1966-67, Rough Rock received $307,000 from BIA, $360,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and $25,000 (earmarked for the Navaho Curriculum Center) from the U. S. Office of Education (USOE), for a total of $692,000. In 1967-68, the second year of operation, BIA provided $370,000, OEO provided $470,000, and USOE provided $57,000 (earmarked as before), for a total of $897,000. For 1968-69, the school was promised $427,000 from BIA; $253,000 from OEO; an earmarked $60,000 from USOE; $60,000 in Follow-Through funds; $20,000 from the Office of Navaho Economic Opportunity (funded by OEO) for Head Start; and $100,000 from the Donner Foundation, for a total of $920,000.

It was our intention, on the basis of data to be obtained from Rough Rock and BIA, to make detailed comparisons of the funds the three boarding schools in the study were spending on various program components.[2] Subsequently, we discovered that this could not be done short of an extensive analysis of individual expenditures at Rough Rock. Rough Rock's accountant reported that no controls had been in force to ensure that spending conformed to budgetary allocations; furthermore, expenditures were recorded in terms of the source of the money (such as BIA, OEO, USOE, or Donner), rather than budgetary categories. When we examined the school's audit reports, we discovered that the categories in terms of which the money had been budgeted were unused there as well. In an effort to produce fiscal comparisons, we developed a method for estimating the apportionment of available funds to instruction to dormitories (including food services), and, at Rough Rock, to other functions.[1] The figures thus produced (see Table 2.4) may be used with some confidence, we believe, for comparative purposes.

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[1] Since Rough Rock admitted some pupils from outside its regular attendance area and offered some programs, such as kindergarten and Head Start, which BIA did not authorize, the school did not receive the BIA per-pupil allotment for all children enrolled.

[2] At the research conference held on October 4, 1968, officials of Rough Rock and BIA assured us that the necessary data were readily available.

Table 2.4 Estimated Per-Pupil Expenditures For Instruction And Dormitory Services, Rough Rock and Two BIA Schools, 1968-69

Expenditure Category		School Rough Rock	 Rock Point	 Chinle Boarding
		(No. of Pupils is indicated in parentheses)		
1966-67	Instruction	1,398.76 (220)	631.35 (192)	341.44 (1,024)
	Dormitories[a]	1,343.87 (195)	907.35 (192)	833.09 (1,024)
	Instruction and Dormitories[b]	2,621.28 (220)	1,538.71 (192)	1,174.54 (1,024)
1967-68	Instruction	1,342.83 (306)	715.85 (192)	357.76 (1,024)
	Dormitories[a]	1,265.34 (256)	939.77 (192)	859.71 (1,024)
	Instruction and Dormitories[b]	2,446.51 (306)	1,655.62 (192)	1,217.47 (1,024)
1968-69	Instruction	1,079.62 (400)	768.04 (274)	458.49 (825)
	Dormitories[a]	1,209.22 (292)	1,291.34 (174)	1,039.70 (825)
	Instruction and Dormitories[b]	2,036.86 (400)	1,688.82 (274)	1,498.19 (825)

[a] In all cases amounts shown for dormitories include food and food services.

[b] Funds for bussing day pupils at Rough Rock and Rock Point are not included in these figures.

[1] (a) We obtained figures concerning BIA allocations to Rock Point and Chinle Boarding from the Chinle Agency office of BIA. The figures were broken down in such a way that allocations for dormitory services (including food services) could be determined approximately.

(b) Since a similar breakdown was not available for Rough Rock, we divided BIA funds at Rough Rock between instruction and dormitories much as they had been divided at Rock Point, which was the school in the sample most similar to Rough Rock in many respects, though we allotted a somewhat lower percentage to instruction than Rock Point had done since part of Rock Point's instructional allocation helped to maintain special training programs the school was providing for teachers from the entire Chinle Agency. At Rock Point, according to calculations based on BIA figures, 51.98 per cent of the local BIA allocation was designated for instruction, whereas at Chinle Boarding only 37.51 per cent was allocated to instruction. At Rough Rock we apportioned 45 per cent of the BIA allocation to instruction and 65 to dormitories. Before we apportioned the BIA funds in this way, we deducted $172.71 per year for each day pupil enrolled at Rough Rock (according to the school's own enrollment figures) for each of the three years in question for bussing. Since Rough Rock had no figures on bussing costs, we used figures from the BIA Agency office to arrive at $172.71 per pupil per year. (We also deducted bussing costs at Rock

The most reliable figures in the table concern funds available for both instruction and dormitories (including food and food services). It appears that Rough Rock had approximately a $1,082-per-child advantage over Rock Point in 1966-67, a $791-per-child advantage in 1967-68, and a $348-per-child advantage in 1968-69. Rough Rock's fiscal lead over Chinle Boarding, purportedly a typical BIA school, was approximately $1,446 per pupil in 1966-67, $1,230 per pupil in 1967-68, and $539 per pupil in 1968-69. Of the three schools, only Rough Rock had additional funds for such other functions as community development and public relations: $171,720 in 1966-67, $224,190 in 1967-68, and $197,001 in 1968-69.

Point before arriving at figures for instruction and dormitories). At Rock Point, we added special funds provided during 1967-68 and 1968-69 from USOE.

(c) To obtain per-pupil expenditure figures, in each school we divided the amount available for instruction each year by the officially reported number of pupils and divided the amount available for dormitories each year by the officially reported number of dormitory pupils. We then added to the per-pupil figure for dormitories in each school for each year the amount of $276, the estimated per-pupil cost of food supplied to each of the three schools by BIA. BIA does not show this figure in allocating local monies to Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle Boarding.

(d) At Rough Rock we added supplementary funds, but not all to dormitories and instruction. During each of the three school years, Rough Rock obtained money from USOE specifically designated for the Navaho Curriculum Center. This money was added to the amount for instruction, as was an ONEO grant for Head Start in 1968-69. In addition, Rough Rock received supplementary funds from other sources, mainly OEO. To decide how these funds should be apportioned, we examined the most recent of the budgets proposed by the school in annual proposals used in search of money--a budget dated March 8, 1968. Apportioning funds from this budget to instruction, dormitories, and other functions in a manner as similar as possible to the apportionments at Rock Point and Chinle, we calculated that Rough Rock had proposed to use 40.7 per cent of these supplementary funds for instruction, 11.6 per cent for dormitories, and 47.7 per cent for other functions. We allocated supplemengary funds for each of the three school years in this way. We then divided the funds available for instruction each year by the officially reported number of pupils to obtain a per-pupil figure and divided the funds available for dormitories each year by the officially reported number of dormitory pupils to obtain a per-pupil figure.

In our estimation the per-pupil amounts obtained by this method can be compared with some confidence. To the extent that inaccuracies exist, we think they represent small under-estimations of the per-pupil amounts available for instruction and dormitories at Rough Rock. Bussing probably costs less per day pupil at Rough Rock than at Rock Point, for a larger percentage of day pupils live on or near the compound at Rough Rock. Per-pupil dormitory funds may be underestimated at Rough Rock, for the number of dormitory pupils officially reported in 1968-69 was considerably larger than the number of pupils we ever observed in the dormitories, probably because of pupil absences. A set-by-step description of our calculations has been compiled and is available on request from the authors at the University of Chicago.

CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

An observer does not stay long at Rough Rock before realizing what is the school's primary emphasis: relationships with the community. To talk of making a school a center of communityactivity is nothing new, but still significant. As data discussed later will indicate, there is no doubt that the Rough Rock Demonstration School had remarkable success in this area, though questions may be raised about the generally applicability of its methods. To state, however, that a school will not only educate children and involve parents but also turn the decision-making power over to local people and help them develop their community: this is radical. In the present chapter, we consider three relevant questions. First, to what extent, in what respects, and through what mechanisms has community control been achieved? Second, to what extent has the community become involved in, supportive of, and informed concerning, school affairs? Third, to what extent, in what respects, and through what mechanisms has the school helped develop the community, especially in economic and political respects? The questions are not entirely independent, but it may be analytically useful to consider them separately.

Community Control

In considering the intricacies of achieving community control at Rough Rock, we begin, paradoxically, at Chinle. The setting is the dull-red building, long, low, and undistinguished, housing the public elementary school.

We had scarcely begun our study when we stumbled upon a cleavage between this school and its community. Legally, the Chinle elementary school is controlled by the people it serves. They elect the school board, and the school board, unquestionably, has final authority (within the limits of constitutionality, state law, and fiscal resources). But what of actuality?

We interviewed a lawyer in the DNA office in Window Rock, the Navaho Tribal capital. DNA (Dinebeiina Nahiilna be Agaditahe, Inc.), is part of the community action program of the Office of Navaho Economic Opportunity, funded by OEO. DNA's purpose, as described in an official brochure, is to provide Navahos with "the legal assistance they need in order to enjoy full protection and benefit under the law and in the courts when they are unable to pay for a lawyer themselves."

The purpose of the interview was to obtain information from informed "outsiders" concerning Navaho tribal politics. To illustrate the intricacies of Navaho politics, the lawyer began to discuss Chinle. At his suggestion, we then held a long tape-recorded interview with a woman in the Chinle DNA office who had been involved first-hand in the incident. In addition, we talked with five of the district's seven board members, the school superintendent (three times), the principals of the elementary and junior high schools, five teachers at the elementary school (one of them twice), nine parents of pupils in our sample (through a Navaho interviewer), and several teachers and administrators at the Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle Boarding schools who knew about the problem, some because they had been employed by the Chinle public school system when the events took place.

Beginning in October, 1967, DNA representatives in the Chinle office, above Fleming Begay's trading post (one of the few two-story buildings in the area), began to receive complaints from Navaho parents. Over a period of months, many serious allegations were made. We mention them here merely as allegations, without vouching in any sense for their accuracy. Our purpose in discussing the accusations and related events is simply to demonstrate that many parents were deeply disturbed. The conditions were such, we maintain, that any school board genuinely responsive to the community would have made a thorough investigation, if for no other reason than to assure the citizens that the charges were false.

To cite some of the charges: The school district had plenty of money for tennis courts and high administrative salaries, but hot lunches for children were cheap and unbalanced, textbooks were inadequate, and several children from impoverished homes who came to school without breakfast were denied lunches when they could not pay. Since the school could not spare personnel to supervise them elsewhere during lunch, these children were made to sit in the gymnasium-cafeteria while their classmates ate. Pupils who appeared proudly at the eighth-grade graduation ceremony, often representing the first generation in the family to go that far in school, were often handed diploma rolls, not with diplomas inside, but with reminders that they must pay the thirty-five or forty cents they owed before a diploma could be issued. A mature fifteen-year-old Navaho girl who was spanked on the buttocks by a male administrator was so humiliated that she refused from that day forward to return to the school. The curriculum was "watered down" to fit the belief of many teachers that the children were unintelligent. One class of "problem children" as young as six years of age was found meeting in the hallway, with no blackboard or teachers' desk, subject to constant interruptions. When a female Navaho employee fell behind in her rent for a school-owned trailer, she was told she must come to the office to obtain her paycheck. When she appeared, she was coerced into signing the check, which some official cashed at a local trading post, taking what she owed the school and leaving the rest with the trader as a payment on what she owed him. Nothing was left with which to feed her family until the next payday came along. On other occasions, employees' checks were held until they borrowed money to pay debts at the school. Parents who went to a top administrator to complain were told that "no damn Navahos" were going to tell him how to run a school. Serious accusations were voiced concerning the character of this man. People who continued to complain were given word, from anonymous sources, that someone who was quite capable of doing so would see that they or their relatives would lose their jobs.

It was further reported that local Navahos were having no success in stimulating the school board to act. Reportedly, the board first refused the floor to representatives of the complaining groups and later announced that it would consider the complaints privately, "in executive session." In examining the written statements issued by both sides during this period, we think it clear that the school board's logic (if indeed it was the school board's) in attempting to justify school officials was tenuous and based on inadequate evidence.

All Chinle public school teachers who were interviewed defended the quality of instruction in their institution and insisted that Navaho children were much better off, psychologically and academically, when (a) they lived at home and came to school by bus and (b) when the presence of many Anglo peers provided practice and example for learning English. They all stated, however, that the current curriculum was inappropriate for Navaho pupils. An organization of teachers was developing a better one, they said, but only one of them thought the superintendent would permit it to be introduced. All but one of the teachers seemed unaware that there had been serious trouble with the community. Either they were unwilling to talk about it or they paid little attention to what the school board was discussing. The one teacher who did discuss the question described a prominent school administrator in phrases we think best not repeated. The others seemed unwilling to express an opinion about him. They all made complimentary remarks about their female principal. We were impressed with the intelligence of each one of these teachers and with the thought they had apparently given to the problems of Navaho children. One spoke eloquently of a failure among reservation educators to specify what they were trying to do for Navahos rather than blundering along with a diluted version of standard academic fare.

The principal of the junior high school, who was accused of paddling the fifteen-year-old girl, openly ridiculed the idea of adapting instruction in any way to Navaho culture. He seemed not at all reluctant to say that Navaho culture should disappear as soon as possible. It was "not American," he emphasized, to help any "faction" perpetuate its way of life. Rough Rock was taking a "backward step." The country had not moved ahead in the past by "catering" to ethnic groups.

As for the superintendent himself, whom the director of the study interviewed twice and the assistant director once, he stated repeatedly, in numerous contexts, that Navahos were incapable of running their own affairs. They made unreasonable demands on the school, he said. If they had their way, he would be running busses to the front door of every hogan. Why should he provide free lunches to a child whose father was driving a new pick-up truck? Unless our hearing was faulty (we find it hard to believe what we are about to report), he stated that the district had a policy of falsifying achievement-test results. These kids were so far behind the national norms, he said, that "it just wouldn't look good. People who don't know conditions here just wouldn't understand." (Significantly, one of his elementary teachers expressed puzzlement that her pupils always did better on national achievement tests than they were able to do in class.)

We thought it most ironic that the one board member out of five we interviewed who insisted there had been no wrong-doing on the part of school officials was the one Navaho board member we interviewed. He was also one of the Dine directors with final legal authority for the Rough Rock Demonstration School. His position, as he voiced it repeatedly, was that the school board must defend school administrators against "trouble-makers" until the accusing parents came up with "proof." He acknowledged that some children had been deprived of lunches, but he blamed the parents. They would get themselves in debt for pick-up trucks, he said, and then not be able to support their families. The board had no responsibility, as he saw it, for launching its own investigations of events in the schools. He did state, however, that the administrator had always dominated the board, practically running the meetings himself. The board had been even more inclined to let the superintendent have his way years ago, when it was composed entirely of Navahos. The Navahos felt unsure of themselves, partly because it was difficult for them to argue against a fast-talking Anglo in English. But just recently, the board was trying to make the superintendent keep his place.

All five board members spoke of intimidation directed toward people who had challenged school policies. Two said they had received threatening phone calls themsleves. "That," as one put it, "is ____________'s customary way of operating." He mentioned that the teachers' organization in the school had been strangely inactive of late; he suspected intimidation in that regard. He described the threats that a current Rough Rock teacher had received when leaving the Chinle public school under less than happy conditions. Our female Navaho interviewer volunteered the impression that the parents she interviewed seemed afraid to answer several questions she asked about the school. The four non-Navaho board members, three of them elected only recently, spoke of a determination to develop some policies of their own and to correct many conditions in the public schools. While indicating that some of the charges against the schools might have been exaggerated, they said many were substantially accurate. The one Anglo board member who had been on the board for several years expressed guilt over allowing unsatisfactory conditions to continue for so long. Many board members were busy men, he pointed out, who could not spare the time involved in taking action against an administrator.

But to return to the sequence of events at Chinle, when it appeared that complaints to the school board were not producing change, DNA lawyers apprised local Navahos of a provision in Arizona law for the recall of elected officials. A "Better Education Committee" (BEC) was formed with the help of some Anglo and Mexican-American parents in the area. Three board members, one of them a Navaho, were identified by BEC as apparently unwilling to differ with school administrators on any issue. The term of one of the Anglo members was about to expire. Plans were made to remove the other Anglo and the Navaho from the board through the recall procedure.[1] It was then discovered that the Navaho member had not been on the board long enough to be subject to recall. The signatures of 25 per cent of the registered voters were obtained on a petition making possible the recall of the other offending board member, and over a period of several months, through elections and political infighting that we will not take space to describe here, the BEC was successful in placing three pro-reform members on the board, one of them a Navaho. At the time of our study, the newly constituted board was planning to hold what was the first meeting in its history, so far as we could determine, without the superintendent present--a meeting to divise some strategies for improving conditions in the public schools. The political activism exhibited in this event is extremely unusual for Navahos. We think it demonstrates deep and widespread concern over conditions in the Chinle public schools.

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[1] During the brief period of time when it appeared that BEC would attempt to recall the Navaho board member, he, the superintendent, or both, managed to bring a complaint to the advisory committee of the Tribal Council concerning DNA's role in the Chinle incident. DNA's top executive was asked to appear before several tribal officials, and shortly thereafter, in an incident widely publicized in the national press, he was escorted to the edge of the reservation by the Navaho Police and ordered not to return. An organization of Navaho youth protested the action by staging an unprecedented demonstration at tribal headquarters, but the tribal officials would not relent. Several young Navahos testified against the tribal officials recently in a federal court in Phoenix, where it was ruled that the DNA officer's rights had been violated when he was expelled for no good reason.

The Chinle incident illustrates well the difficulties involved in transfering any meaningful control to disadvantaged groups like the Navahos, particularly groups that have shown few signs of militancy and self-assertion. It is our distinct impression, on the basis of what we have seen and after discussing the issue with many Navahos and Anglos on the reservation, that uneducated Navahos tend to be intimidated very easily. After being subjected for generations to federal policies that say, in effect, "You are incapable of governing your own affairs," as a group they seem to believe it to a lamentable extent. It is a widely reported phenomenon in research, furthermore, that individuals who are gaining middle class status themselves often deal more harshly with low-status members of their ethnic groups than most outsiders would do. There is little reason to be excited by the mere fact that legal authority to run the Rough Rock school was given to an all-Navaho corporation (Dine, Inc.), which in turn delegated authority, through a gentleman's agreement, to a locally elected school board. That action by itself does not guarantee local control or even sensitivity to the majority of local people.

In one respect, however, Rough Rock's legal structure was superior to that of the Chinle public school district. The Chinle district, as we noted earlier, was massive in geographic extent, yet political realities being what they were, all board members were drawn from the immediate environs of Chinle. The district ran a school at Round Rock, for instance, about twenty-five miles away, but there was little chance, our informants told us, that Round Rock could elect even a single board member. The district was clearly not designed for local control. As in many other cases of public school district boundary determination, it is likely that fiscal efficiency, in the narrow sense of the term, was predominant.

In another respect, it may be more difficult to achieve community control in communities like Rough Rock than at Chinle. Chinle's federal funds came, for the most part, automatically, on the basis of enrollment figures. At Rough Rock, each year brought a new fiscal crisis, punctuated by days and nights of proposal writing, quick trips to Washington, appearances before Congressional committees and foundation officials. In such a situation, a board cannot be content with any administrator who comes down the pike. He must be a man who can attract money.

If rare individuals of this type are alienated, a project may soon be left high and dry. Can boards elected of largely uneducated Navahos, largely incapable of expressing themselves in English, virtually oblivious to the intricacies of national politics, afford to risk offending these administrators by differing with them on fundamental issues?

One further point should be emphasized before we examine our data from Rough Rock. Achieving a balanced interplay between the professional and the layman, so as to capitalize on both viewpoints, has been chronically difficult in American schools, and we suspect the educational expert has typically exercised too much influence, particularly in schools serving ethnic minorities. A salutary balance will be particularly elusive at Rough Rock. Since Ph. D.'s in nuclear physics often feel unsure of themselves, when serving on suburban school boards, Navahos who lack even a first-grade education need more than to be told they are in control and permitted to speak their mind. As even captains of industry have discovered when serving on big-city school boards, citizen control is hardly genuine when elected officials are confronted repeatedly with the firm recommendations of professionals, when they lack the information needed to identify alternatives, and when they are under pressure to assent, either to meet a deadline or to avoid a squabble in public. On the other hand, self-determination is hardly beneficial when it cuts off the advantages of professional knowledge. It would make little sense, for example, to require a plumber to decide, on the basis of what he knew, whether he should take penicillin, have an appendectomy, or swallow three Martinis to silence a nagging pain. To obtain the essential information, we must ask such questions as the following: In what spheres (curriculum, finance, personnel, community relations, pupil services, physical facilities, etc.) was the board active or inactive? There are relatively "harmless" areas of school policy that virtually any administrator would relinquish to a board of laymen. Was Rough Rock more radical? Were the board members permitted to intrude into areas in which their influence might really make a difference? How much did they have to say about what happened in classrooms and dormitories? When the community complained that members of the school staff were insensitive to pupils, what actions, if any, were taken by the board? How independent was the board of community opinion? How independent of administrator opinion? To what extent did it initiate policy? Can we find important instances of board-administrator disagreement? If so, whose opinions dominated? What is the nature of the dialogue between school board members and the professional staff? Did the board have access to the information that made meaningful decisions possible? Was it confronted with options or simply recommendations?

Since Rough Rock is a demonstration school, furthermore, we must ask whether its board was so structured as to minimize the chances of intimidation by the chief administrator, whoever he might be. More specifically, if Rough Rock's pattern were duplicated throughout the reservation, would the community alienation that existed in Chinle be less likely to occur? And finally, were the board's decisions, to the extent that it made them, well calculated to further the education of children and the welfare of the community?

Information reported in the rest of this chapter was drawn from the following sources: The director of the study interviewed five members of the seven-man all-Navaho school board at Rough Rock, a former school board member, the former director, the current director (three times), six individuals in high positions who could be well characterized as belonging to the "inner circle" for more than a year, a former Rough Rock staff member who had worked very closely with the board and the first director, and the man responsible for translating and transcribing the board minutes at the time of our study. The interviews were essentially unstructured, though notes were made in advance of the matters to be probed particularly. Some incidental details were drawn from interviews and informal discussions with teachers and other personnel, as described in chapters 4, 5, and 6. Board minutes from the first meeting on July 26, 1966, to June 26, 1968, were examined in their entirety. The minutes of fourteen meetings, seven drawn at random from each of the first two years, were content-analyzed.

In addition, we arranged for lengthy interviews, averaging about an hour each, with parents of pupils in our sample at the four schools in the study. The method used to select the pupil and parent sample was described in detail in chapter 1. At Rough Rock, where 27 parents were interviewed, we came close to obtaining our intended sample of 31. The interviewer reported that he was unsuccessful in repeated attempts to find four parent-couples at their homes, far-distant across the mesas. There is little likelihood that the sample was seriously biased by the absence of this small number.

The possibilities of unintended bias are much more important for the parent samples from the other three schools. Just as the interviewer began his work at Rock Point, bad weather closed in and many roads became impassible for days and weeks on end. It was a severe winter from that standpoint. Even when we added a second interviewer and offered speical inducements, we reached only 17 parents out of 28 selected at Rock Point, 11 out of 28 selected at Chinle Boarding, and 9 out of 10 selected at the Chinle Public School. Since it is likely that the parents who could not be reached lived in the least accessible areas, the actual parent samples at Rock Point and Chinle Boarding may be somewhat more traditional than the actual samples would have been, though the range of family acculturation in the total parent sample (all schools together) seemed fairly narrow.

An additional five parents were interviewed at Rough Rock, but since they had been selected in terms of special criteria, we did not include them in any comparisons against parents from the other schools. Three parents were interviewed who had attended the Friends mission school at Rough Rock when it was still functioning and two were interviewed who had recently transferred their children from Rough Rock to the elementary school at Many Farms. The purpose of these seven interviews was to ascertain the reasons why some parents preferred not to send their children to the Rough Rock Demonstration School. It may be summarized here, in passing, that the parents who had transferred to Many Farms gave vague reasons for the change. The three parents who had patronized the Friends mission school said essentially that, as Christians, they preferred a school that did not emphasize traditional Navaho culture as Rough Rock was doing.

In addition to seeking certain background information, the parent interview schedule contained questions concerning general attitudes toward the school, contacts with teachers and classrooms, the dormitory (for parents of dormitory students), attitudes toward school board and staff members, participation in adult education programs, and opinions concerning health programs and community development. The interview schedule was translated into Navaho in advance by Mr. Gary Witherspoon, a former member of the Rough Rock administrative staff who was then a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago. It was duplicated in English and Navaho. The main interviewer was a male Navaho from Lukachukai whom numerous informants identified as widely sought as an interpreter. We discussed the interview schedule with him and assented to minor translation changes that he thought advisable. The importance of using the same translation and approach with all interviewees was strongly emphasized. This male interviewer completed all the interviews at Rough Rock. Using a portable tape-recorder which we provided, he taped all his interviews, translated them later, at his leisure, and wrote the translated English answers onto the interview schedules. We checked each transcribed interview carefully when it was submitted.

When it became obvious that weather was hampering the male interviewer seriously, we arranged for a female Navaho field worker, a former Rough Rock teacher with whose work we had been much pleased during November and December, 1968, to begin interviewing parents early in January, 1969. She used the same interview schedule and was provided with a tape recording of the translation used by the other interviewer to study and follow. Since 11 of the 17 Rock Point parents were interviewed by the female Navaho and 8 by the male, we were able to tabulate and compare the answers. We could discern no systematic differences between responses obtained by the two interviewers. Somewhat accidentally, another verification technique became available. We called for the male interviewer's work somewhat earlier than he anticipated, and he had not yet translated and transcribed the recordings from six interviewers. The tapes were taken to Chicago and translated by another Navaho. In examining the results, we were satisfied that the interviewer had been accurate, consistent, and conscientious.

But the fact that the parent samples are considerably smaller than we had intended presents a problem, and the more so because not all parents answered all questions. (A typical Navaho response to a question deemed embarrassing or difficult, we learned, was to offer no answer at all.) In the light of the numbers of responses recorded in tables from the parent interviews, only the most pronounced percentage differences will be statistically significant. As we examine the data, however, we find them very meaningful in comparison with other information gathered in the study. As such, they do not stand entirely alone. Our interpretive strategy, consequently, is to ignore percentage differences of less than fifteen or twenty points and to regard findings based upon comparisons among schools in these tables as far from conclusive. We are on somewhat safer ground when we seek information concerning the Rough Rock community itself, quite apart from comparisons.

Another methodological problem must be emphasized. The existing research on decision making indicates that it is often if not typically difficult to determine, when decisions are made in group contexts, whose decisions they were. Members of groups influence each other in subtle ways. It is well known, furthermore, that school board minutes often obscure as much as they reveal. What is recorded is frequently no more than the product of an intricate decision-making process, while the process itself goes undescribed. At Rough Rock we faced additional complications: During the first two years, the director spoke English at the meetings, the board members spoke Navaho, and continuous interpretations were made. The minutes were tape-recorded but when the director or board members so requested, the recorder was turned off to permit confidential discussion of "sensitive" matters, particularly issues of hiring, firing, suspension, and promotion. The recorded discussions were translated into English, typed, and bound into a minute book. The individual in charge of this procedure reported that he deleted references to heated exchanges. The minutes were purged of embarrassing content a second time before being incorporated into the school's monthly reports.

We decided that our only feasible approach, apart from interviewing board members and others and attending a few board meetings (3), was to examine the original typed version of the minutes. We did not attempt to analyze the tape recordings. As any researcher knows who has transcribed such recordings for analysis, the process is extremely time-consuming and expensive. To transcribe even a small sample of Rough Rock's board meetings would have been prohibitively so, for these meetings often lasted for most of a day. Even by transcribing the tapes, we would not have gained access to discussion of issues which the board and director considered "sensitive." The data then, must be interpreted in the light of these limitations. The minutes, furthermore, are very uneven in quality, at times reflecting a rather primitive knowledge of English, and we suspect that at times they were translated by individuals whose grasp of Navaho was far from ideal. It is unfortunate, we think, that Rough Rock's leaders did not preserve a more adequate record in this focal area of experimentation and demonstration.

In the passages immediately following we will examine eight broad questions in sequence: (1) In what spheres of the school's functioning was the school board active? (2) Was the board typically confronted with administrator recommendations, or did it exercise options? Did it have the information it needed to make meaningful decisions? (3) When complaints were raised by the community, how did the school board respond? (4) Did members of the community view the board as in control of the school, accessible to them, and responsive to parental opinion? (5) Was the board so structured as to encourage independence from administrators and responsiveness to the community? (6) Were school board members exposed to conflicts of interest? (7) As repository of final legal power, did Dine, Inc., compromise local control? (8) Did board decisions facilitate efficient, effective school operations?

1. In What Spheres Was the School Board Active?

In examining the school board minutes in their entirety, we concluded that the area attracting the largest proportion of the board's time and attention was the employment of local nonprofessional people. The board had little to do with the employment of professionals and practically never entered into decisions concerned with firing them (or accepting their resignations). Matters of community development (including adult education and Head Start classes not sponsored directly by the school) were second in order of importance. Except as these issues impinged upon the school's internal operations, the board rarely considered the school's inner workings; when it did, it dealt almost exclusively with matters uniquely Navaho, such as the propriety of paintings representing Navaho ceremonies, the amount of instruction that should be given in Navaho language and social living, and the hiring of hand tremblers and star gazers to solve a burglary. The board was particularly inactive in budgetary affairs. Beyond establishing a very few general policies (e.g., there must be no corporal punishment; Navaho subjects must be taught every day; dorm aides must not leave their posts when no one else is available to supervise children) the board had little to do with day-to-day procedures in classrooms or dormitories.

In content-analyzing the minutes of fourteen board meetings, seven selected at random from each of the first two full years, we defined the topic as the unit of analysis. Whenever a new subject came up in board discussions, we analyzed it as a separate topic. As the only exception to this rule, we classified sentences and very small paragraphs as dealing with "miscellaneous topics" when they merely mentioned several matters in sequence. Out of 80 topics considered in the fourteen board meetings, we discovered that 13 (16.3 per cent) concerned nonprofessional employees, 21 (26.3 per cent) dealt with community welfare or development, 4 (5.0 per cent) concerned employees who were not local Navahos, 6 (7.5 per cent) dealt with classroom affairs, none were directly concerned with activities of children or adults in the dormitories, 5 (6.3 per cent) had to do with other activities of children (in the gymnasium, for instance), 4 (5 per cent) concerned the affairs of the board itself, and 10 (12.5 per cent) were on other topics.

But the extent of the discussions may be more illuminating in some respects than their frequency; so we calculated the number of typewritten lines in the minutes devoted to each. Of the 1,261 typewritten lines in the minutes analyzed, 387 (30.7 per cent) concerned nonprofessional employees; 360 (28.5 per cent) concerned the community; 69 (5.5 per cent) concerned employees in skilled or professional positions; 111 (8.8 per cent) concerned the classrooms; none concerned the dormitories, except indirectly; 156 (12.4 per cent) concerned the activities of children elsewhere; 24 (1.9 per cent) concerned activities of the board itself; and 154 (12.2 per cent) were on other matters.[1]

It may be instructive, further, to consider what the board discussed within each of these areas. From this standpoint, we examined the minutes of all meetings held before the end of May, 1968, making notes on what appeared to be nontrivial discussions and looking particularly for instances of disagreement between administrators and board members.

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[1] Since matters concerning the local employment program were often discussed with the tape-recorder off, attention given to this area is seriously underestimated by our method of content analysis.

Rough Rock's administrators had made several attempts, we discovered, to take over the processing of applications for nonprofessional and unskilled jobs, but with a few exceptions of brief duration, the board insisted on controlling this area. It was here, more than in any other phase of school functioning, that the board seemed ready to assert itself, even to the point of reversing administrator recommendations. It rejected a recommendation that husband-wife teams be hired for the dormitories (October 7, 1966); somewhat brusquely replaced a night watchman selected by an administrator without board approval (October 7, 1966); turned down the suggestion that people who began working late in the rotating employment cycle be permitted to continue beyond the cut-off point (November 4, 1966); objected (though this time to no avail) to an administrator-instituted practice of paying local people while they received instruction in arts and crafts (November 16, 1966); rejected the idea that only individuals with children should work in dormitories (March 13, 1967); refused to consider rehiring a worker who had been fired (April 12, 1967); complained when administrators continued from time to time to fill positions without board approval (July 3, 1967); and reversed the refusal of an administrator to hire a woman because she didn't live in the vicinity (September 20, 1967), to cite just a few examples. Board members clearly wanted to control this area of policy. In the interviews, four out of five board members complained that the former director never stopped hiring people without their approval. These complaints seemed to relate primarily to an apparent habit of bringing professionals to Rough Rock and seeking board approval afterward. It appears that the board established its authority clearly, over a period of time, to hire and fire local people.

Though passages dealing with local nonprofessional employees are voluminous and difficult to summarize, three themes emerge repetitiously: the problem of employee drunkenness, nepotistic hiring patterns, and the insistence of the board on a policy of rotating employment. While we are reluctant to make such a statement, in deference to our Navaho friends, the fact can scarcely be escaped that alcoholism is a pervasive problem on the reservation. Very few Navaho males, particularly, seem to have escaped it altogether; so it is not surprising that incident after incident confronted the Rough Rock board. From one standpoint, the very frequency of the occurrences was salutary, for it forced the board to abandon an ad hoc approach and demanded the development of policy. The board decided officially, on January 19, 1967, that all individuals involved would be treated impartially in terms of a definite policy: The first offense would bring a five- to ten-day suspension and ninety days of probation. Any employee violating the rule against drinking during the probationary period would be fired. Unfortunately, it added the provision, "If there are extraordinary or extenuating circumstances, exceptions may be made."

As it turned out, there were usually extraordinary and extenuating circumstances when close relatives of board members violated the drinking rule. In addition to reading board minutes on this question, we examined the personnel records of the school, talked with administrators who had worked closely with the board, and consulted school employees who had much contact with the community. The board was widely reputed, on the compound and in the community, to be applying its policies on drinking inequitably, depending for the most part on how closely employees were related to board members. The reputation was somewhat justified. Numerous cases could be documented of close relatives of board members (sons, for example) who violated the board's rules so repeatedly that the issue had become a subject of jokes at the school. ("Have you heard the latest on Ellwood?") One board member who said he was disturbed concerning these inequities made an apparent attempt at one meeting to establish a new pattern. Since his own close relative was involved, he felt free to urge the board to consider the infraction very seriously, offering to leave the room while the matter was discussed. At that point the board abruptly adjourned for lunch; when it returned, a different subject was introduced.

In the board's selection of people to be hired, a pattern of nepotism was evident. In the ill-fated "community live-in" described in chapter 1, we encountered complaints almost immediately that the Rough Rock board was favoring close relatives in its hiring policies. People who did not enjoy this advantage found that repeated applications for employment were apparently futile. Several Rough Rock employees who knew the community well reported the same tendency. In interviewing dormitory personnel (see chapter 4), we asked whether they enjoyed their work. One board member's daughter replied, "Yes, because almost all the people working here are my relatives." In interviews with parents in the Rough Rock community, we asked, "Do any groups of people in the community get treated better or worse than other groups at the school?" Of the 25 parents responding to the question, 11 (44 per cent) said "yes" or "I think so." In interviews held with five current board members and one former member, three out of four who were asked about the practice acknowledged that the board gave preference to close relatives in the employment program. The board member who denied the practice could probably be shown, on the basis of personnel records and board minutes, to be more guilty of it than anyone else. Two respondents deplored the practice. One board member said he had tried in vain to get the board to be more impartial. One board member argued that to hire close relatives was very good, because the board would then know that its employees could be trusted. Numerous cases of nepotism could be documented from personnel records, school board minutes, and payroll data. On a few occasions, in fact, the minutes suggest that employees were abruptly removed from their jobs to provide places for people whom board members were sponsoring. From the Navaho standpoint, a community like Rough Rock manifests a massive network of clan interrelationships. To insist that board members hire no relatives in the Navaho sense might make it difficult to run any program of significant size. But local people were objecting for the most part to preferences shown to close relatives, such as sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, nephews and nieces in the Anglo sense of those terms, as the school records made clear.

Several high-echelon administrators at Rough Rock complained about the board's insistence on rotating as many jobs as possible, though the insistence is understandable in the light of Navaho culture. Key dormitory officials stated that the policy of changing dormitory parents every eight weeks (at one time, five weeks) had made it virtually impossible to develop the skills and understandings these people-needed to deal with large groups of children, but the board had been adamant about changing the policy. In examining the board minutes, we encountered numerous occasions on which administrators had argued that dormitory parents should be kept on staff for considerably longer periods of time, but the board had not agreed. Since, unlike BIA dormitory schools, Rough Rock laundered its own linens as a way of providing employment to local people, this area also became involved in board discussions. School administrators had hired and trained three local women for the laundry. As one administrator analyzed the situation, the three women enjoyed little community status but now were making more money than important community leaders. For whatever reason, the school board removed the three women on the basis of charges concerning sexual morality, which, in the case of other employees, it refused to consider adequate reasons for terminating employment. School officials pointed out that serious problems would be involved if the rotating employment policy were applied to the laundry. Salary outlays would have to be larger, for all employees had to undergo at least a week or two of training before they were useful. It took time furthermore, for employees to adjust to the work, and since housing needs varied from employee to person, staff time would be involved in arranging for the necessary living quarters. The board would not relent.

When considering matters of community welfare and development, the board discusses such topics as bus service for Head Start classes not operated under school auspices; arranging dedication ceremonies for new buildings at the school; permitting films to be made on the compound and elsewhere; National Youth Corps activities; the need to have a policeman in the area; getting a consultant to show local people how to construct building out of adobe; providing food to a destitute group; stocking hay and coal for the convenience of local people; making water from the compound available to local people; trying to obtain better roads; plans for school-community meetings; the sale of items made by pupils at the school; special carnivals and community celebrations; the problem of collecting rents for the community from tenants at the "old school"; the need of better facilities for Head Start; the availability of loans for people who lost cattle and sheep in the big snowstorm of 1967; purchasing 1,000 posts for resale to local people for construction purposes; and a faulty sewer "down at the old school." The subject in this area to which the board may have given the most attention was the "medicine man school" (more formally known as the "Navaho Mental Health Project"). The basic idea was to pay medicine men to teach Navaho ceremonies and to pay trainees to learn them, as a means of counteracting the tendency for ceremonial skills to disappear. Grants were sought from many sources. Finally, on January 24, 1968, a school administrator announced that funds for the program could be taken from "savings" in other components of the school. On another occasion, the director announced that no funds were available for the program. It would have been more conducive to school board development, we thought, if the board itself had been asked to determine whether funds could be made available. The decision could have been phrased in terms the members would understand. They could have been informed of the likely impact of taking the money from other school components and could have been asked in this way to determine priorities.

Another phase of community development frequently discussed by the board was the Navaho Arts and Crafts program. The board had a hogan-like arts and crafts center built out of logs. On numerous occasions it discussed reports that the program was not going well. On January 19, 1967, it asked administrators why trainees in the program were being paid without authorization by the board. It appears that the payment was not discontinued. The practice was questioned again by the board on several occasions, according to the minutes, and finally explicitly authorized on March 13.

The board was active in efforts to secure better PHS (Public Health Service) clinic service at Rough Rock. A weekly clinic and dental facility was set up. Finally, in anticipation of a visit by Robert Kennedy, PHS was persuaded to erect a clinic building at Rough Rock.

The board also considered many ideas for community development projects at Rough Rock, such as a coop store, a post office, a gas station, a chicken farm, a toy factory, operating the school kitchen as a cafe, a laundromat, a shoe repair shop, and an automotive repair facility.

When we examined topics having to do with classroom affairs, we discovered such instances as the following: the board was informed that a consultant was helping in the TESL program; it listened to the director's ideas on the "both-and" approach and approved them; it asked for instruction in agricultural sciences (and was apparently ignored); it talked about permission slips for field trips; it heard that the Navaho Curriculum Center had six books ready to publish and twelve more in outline form (an extremely inaccurate statement); it agreed to give talks in classrooms about the importance of student government; it planned, and subsequently reported, field trips for pupils (board members usually went along, especially to Disneyland); it expressed anger upon learning that classes in Navaho language had been dropped without its approval (November, 1967); it complained about the fact that the school had no speech therapist available; it approved the addition of the eighth grade at the school; and it approved the idea of instituting a program of electives for pupils in the fall of 1968.

Despite figures derived earlier from our sample of board minutes, the board did not neglect the dormitories entirely. On a surprising number of occasions it complained about the school's check-out policy, arguing that parents should not be free to take children out at will and bring them back at will. Typically on these occasions the director would argue that Navahos should not be so willing to relinquish control of their children. The existing policy would be approved, but a few weeks later the board would attack it again. There were many reports in board meetings of mounting pupil absences; according to these reports, the problem intensified as time went on. One estimate stated that as many as eighty pupils were absent from the morning classes on Mondays.

Board members complained from time to time that dormitory parents had little or nothing to do and that personnel on night duty had deserted their posts, leaving the children unattended. The previous director reported to the board several times concerning the dormitories; in several of these instances, he said in effect that conditions had been unsatisfactory, but that the source of the problem had now been attended to. On one occasion the board fired a dormitory aide for striking a pupil, but it was not involved, so far as we could discern, in setting up clear guidelines concerning pupil discipline and other central dormitory concerns.

2. Was the Board Typically Confronted with Recommendations, or Did It Exercise Options? Did It Have the Information It Needed to Make Meaningful Decisions?

In the content-analysis of board minutes mentioned earlier, we discovered that 63 (78.7 per cent) of the 80 topics discussed had been introduced by the administrator and 17 (21.3 per cent) by board members themselves. Examining the 63 topics introduced by the administrator, we discovered that 30 concerned the giving of information; they did not call for a decision. On four of the remaining occasions, the director offered something to the board members themselves: two trips at school expense, left-over foodstuffs, and the opportunity to earn extra money by serving as dormitory parents. On 29 occasions, board action was required. On 22 of these 29 occasions (75.9 per cent), according to the minutes, the board was given an administrator's recommendation and asked to approve it (19 times) or was asked to ratify an action the administrator had already taken (3 times); there was evidence of options on 7 occasions out of 29 (24.1 per cent).

Seeking further information on this issue, we asked the five current board members and the one former board member whether the prevailing pattern was for the board to make its own decisions or whether there was a tendency simply to "go along" with what the administrator wanted. Five of the six characterized the board as having little opportunity to make its own decisions until recently; since the Navaho director took over, things were better. Three complained that they had wanted more information about the school but had trouble getting it. One complained that the members did not know what was put into the minutes, but suspected that the "good things" they said were included and their criticisms excluded. (We did encounter complaints from board members in the minutes, including complaints that they lacked information about the school, though the latter were not frequent.) Two members discussed an incident in which the director was alleged to have taken a very serious step in the board's name without the prior knowledge of any board member. When we asked why the board had not objected, one member said the board did not want to make the director angry.

It is possible to interpret these comments in several ways. The cynical view would be that the director was merely pretending to follow a policy of local control and that the board was just a rubber stamp. It is perhaps more likely, as several of this man's colleagues suggested, that he acted in good faith, though sometimes inconsistently. In some instances he may simply have assumed, under pressure, that he knew exactly what the school board would do. On other occasions he may not have realized that the board lacked an informational basis for decisions. Furthermore, the school board may have underestimated the authority it was exercising. The phenomenon of rising expectations has been observed in many contexts in recent years. When a downtrodden minority begins to make gains, it often complains more loudly than before. This much, at least, we may conclude with some certainty: the spectacle of Rough Rock's board complaining of lack of power is much more promising than what apparently took place with Chinle's all-Navaho board a few years ago. The protests of board members at Rough Rock are immensely encouraging. We hope the school's administrators will capitalize on this self-assertion. It rarely appears, apparently, on the Navaho reservation. While drawing encouragement from the data, however, we must observe that Rough Rock has some distance to go before it will have achieved the community control suggested in its objectives.

3. When Complaints Were Raised by the Community, How Did the School Board Respond?

In examining board minutes and through our other data-gathering strategies, we discovered five complaints that had been voiced rather clearly by segments of the Rough Rock community. One we have already noted: that board members were favoring their close relatives in administering the employment program for local people. Board members noted these complaints at numerous meetings, according to the school board minutes, but they apparently did not feel obliged to modify their practices accordingly.

Two complaints about the curriculum were voiced rather persistently, as we will note in more detail in chapter 5: that the teaching was repetitious from year to year and that too much time and attention was given to Navaho subjects. There are no indications in the minutes or elsewhere that the board ever weighed these charges or conferred with the people who made them. We do not know how many people were complaining in this way.

A fourth community murmur was reported by several Rough Rock administrators and Navaho informants and turned up in the minutes for May 24, 1968. Instructors and trainees in the medicine man school had been conducting ceremonies that should have been discontinued, according to Navaho tradition, several weeks earlier. Local people feared that bad storms and other misfortunes might result. After mentioning that members of the community had indicated disapproval, the majority of the board was ready to continue the ceremonies anyhow, according to reports we received and the board minutes, so long as there was money left with which to pay the instructor, trainees, and supervisors (several board members were receiving payments under the program). At this point a board member who had previously objected to nepotism and inconsistent application of policies on drinking chided, "Money has come into our minds and is making us break what is sacred." As Navahos on the compound interpreted the event, the members were shamed into discontinuing the ceremonies.

The fifth complaint concerned a prominent member of the Navaho staff in the girls' dormitory who, according to our observational notes (chapter 4) appeared at times somewhat callous toward her charges. Feelings against her in the community were sufficiently intense that, at a meeting early in November, 1968, the chapter (Rough Rock Chapter) demanded that she be fired. In a meeting a few days later, the Rough Rock board declared that the complaints about this woman were unjustified and refused to take any action against her. We were impressed at the time with the difference between the Rough Rock board and the Rock Point school's educational committee. Rock Point's principal described his committee as afraid to do almost anything without the Rock Point Chapter's approval. On a number of important decisions, they had refused to act until an official of the chapter joined them. In the principal's view, they were afraid they might arouse the anger of some important segment of the community.[1]

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[1] The Rock Point educational committee, as we noted in chapter 2, was elected by the chapter. At the time of our study, it had only three members. It possessed no legal authority, but the principal at Rock Point consulted it on many issues as a way of apprising himself of community opinion. He had delegated to it the authority to select Navaho adults for Rock Point's small, spasmodic dormitory parent program, which, for lack of funds, was in one of its nonoperative phases at the time of our study.

4. Did Members of the Community View the Board as in Control of the School, Accessible to Them, and Responsive to Parental Opinion?

To obtain information concerning community perceptions of the school board's authority and responsiveness, we asked three questions in the parent interviews described earlier: "Does the board have the final say-so on what is done at the school?" (Table 3.1) "Do you think members of the school board are interested in your ideas and opinions?" (Table 3.2) "Have you ever talked with a school board member about education?" (Table 3.3) The questions were phrased identically with parents from the other three schools with boards or educational committees except that, at Rock Point, the words "educational committee" were substituted for "school board."

A high percentage of parents at Rough Rock and Rock Point indicated the belief that their elected representatives were in complete control (Table 3.1). Most parents from Chinle Public refused to answer. In the light of the fact that the powers of the Rock Point board were purely advisory in the legal sense, the high percentage there (80) may seem surprising. However, staff members at Rock Point virtually all commented on the extent to which the principal had involved the committee and community in decision-making, and he himself observed that he didn't welcome the time when the community would discover it didn't possess any final authority.

Slightly more than half the interviewed parents at Rough Rock and Rock Point answered "Yes" or "I think so" when asked if board members (or committee members) seemed interested in their opinions (Table 3.2). The percentage dropped considerably at Chinle Public. Around 18 per cent of parents at Rough Rock and Rock Point said they had talked to a board member or committee member about education (Table 3.3). Not a single Chinle Public parent answered in this way. The similarities between Rough Rock and Rock Point in the three tables just considered are rather striking. We doubt that many American schools would produce a high a proportion of favorable answers on questions of this type as we obtained in the two communities.

Table 3.1 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Does the Board (or Educational Committee) Have the Final Say-So on What is Done at the School?"

School	Per Cent Answering Yes or I Think So (N)	No (N)	Don't Know (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Public	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
Rock Point	80.0	0.0	20.0	100.0
	(12)	(0)	(3)	(15)
Rough Rock	91.7	0.0	8.3	100.0
	(22)	(0)	(2)	(24)

Table 3.2 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Do You Think Members of the School Board (or School Committee) are Interested in Your Ideas and Opinions?"

School	Per Cent Answering Yes or Think So (N)	No or Don't Think So (N)	Don't Know (N)	Other (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Public	22.2	0.0	33.3	44.4	100.0
	(2)	(0)	(3)	(4)	(9)
Rock Point	58.8	11.8	17.6	11.8	100.0
	(10)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(17)
Rough Rock	55.6	11.1	25.9	7.4	100.0
	(15)	(3)	(7)	(2)	(27)

Table 3.3 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Have You Ever Talked With a School Board (or School Committee) Member About Education?"

School	Per Cent Answering Yes (N)	No (N)	No Answer (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Public	0.0	66.7	33.3	100.0
	(0)	(6)	(3)	(9)
Rock Point	17.6	64.7	17.6	100.0
	(3)	(11)	(3)	(17)
Rough Rock	18.5	77.8	3.7	100.0
	(5)	(21)	(1)	(27)

5. Was the Board So Structured as to Encourage Independence from Administrators and Responsiveness to the Community?

We have found little evidence in the data from Rough Rock of hostility or alienation between school and community. But Rough Rock was favored thus far with administrators who were strong advocates of community self-determination. Perhaps the salutary relationship between educators and parents was more a function of administrator characteristics than of the way the board was structured. If the same board structure had existed at Chinle Public, would conditions there have been any better? What safeguards had Rough Rock developed to keep the board at least relatively independent of the administrator, free to clash with him if the necessity ever arose?

The principal at Rock Point, we discovered, was very sensitive to this issue. The members of Rock Point's educational committee were paid $7.50 each for half-day meetings and $12.00 each for full-day meetings. While emphasizing that it was difficult for impoverished people to function on public boards without remuneration, he said he worried that the members might feel they constituted "the school's committee" rather than "the community's committee." Payments to the members should be made in such a way, he argued, that no administrator would be perceived to have power to give or withhold or alter the stipends. Perhaps the members should receive checks from Window Rock or Washington automatically whenever they reported what meetings they had attended. Without maintaining the independence of the members, he insisted, "you miss the real function of an education committee. I'm afraid in many schools it's viewed as something that's bought and paid for by the school." As yet the committee had not settled upon a policy of regular meetings. Meetings were called when matters needed to be decided. We inferred from the principal's account of sessions during the past few months that they were held, on the average, about once weekly. It appeared, then, as though the average monthly stipend of a Rock Point committee member was between $30 and $48. In the view of the principal, any major increase in the stipends would have had negative effects, for as soon as the school was the major source of the committee members' incomes, they would become less vulnerable to community opinion; their self-interests would conflict at times with the interests of the community.

We think these are cogent arguments.

At Rough Rock the issue of payments to board members (sometimes identified in the board minutes as "salary") was discussed on August 1, August 12, and December 14, 1966; March 22, March 29, April 5, July 18, August 7, and October 18, 1967; and January 29 and April 10, 1968. On most of these occasions, stipends or expense allowances were increased, usually at the suggestion of the director, until, in the fall of 1968, board members were receiving biweekly stipends of $118; the sum included $70 for two board meetings and $48 for "extra service." The extra service was defined as visiting local homes in behalf of the school, etc., or, when the medicine man school was functioning, of receiving instruction or helping coordinate the program. No record was kept of work done, and the individual in the best position to know volunteered that "It isn't happening at all." The allowances, local Navahos informed us, made the board members very wealthy by the standards of a community in which the average man of substance, a stockman, rarely earned over $1,000 a year. There were also numerous occasions like the instances mentioned earlier in which the director of the school extended extra benefits to the board members, such as jewelry specially designed and made for them in the arts and crafts program and trips to distant cities. Perhaps more important than the value of the benefits was their apparent source. There are strong suggestions in the board minutes that the administrator was "being good to" the members. Rather typical is an exchange recorded in the minutes of December 14, 1966:

> ____________ [the director] said that we could raise the travel of the school board to fifty dollars to cover their extra travel expenses. . . . ____________ [board member] asked what the hourly compensation [provided in addition to the travel allowance] would be. ____________ [the director] stated that it would be the same as before--seventy-five dollars for two weeks or a dollar an hour for work less than two weeks.

We intend in no sense to question the administrator's motives. No doubt he felt strongly that at Rough Rock, of all places, Navahos should finally be paid well for their efforts. Such an impulse is laudable. In the process, however, he established a relationship ill calculated in the long run to maximize community control. We think it fortunate that administrators at another school in our sample did not possess the same potential for influence or coercion. The arrangement may partially explain the relative independence from community opinion (as yet far from alarming) exhibited by the Rough Rock board.

It must be noted further, in this connection, that members of the Rough Rock community could not easily keep watch on what their school board was doing. Few could afford to attend the long weekly meetings, held during the working hours. While we were at Rough Rock, the meetings were held in the director's inner office, hardly a place where local people would be likely to venture uninvited. No local Navahos were present at the three board meetings that members of our staff attended. In examining 20 randomly selected meetings for which we have minutes in our files, we discover that local people (with the exception of occasional school employees) were present at only two--two people at one meeting and six at the other. Since few adults in the community are literate, they cannot peruse the minutes. The school's monthly reports are available in the school library, but as we noted earlier, the version of the minutes that they reproduce is "expurgated." The original minutes, according to board policy, are not to leave the director's office.

Two additional problems existed during most of the first two years at Rough Rock. Two school-attendance districts from which pupils were drawn had no representatives on the school board, and no provision had been made for school board elections. Toward the end of the second year, one member was added from each of these two districts. Late in 1968, it had been decided that regular school board elections would be held. The board and chapter were studying several plans. Administrators guessed that elections would be held annually or once every two years at the school and that the board members would come up for replacement or reelection (depending on the results) in sequence. Nominations would be by district, but the members would be elected at large. Several people on the compound opined that one board member in particular would "watch his step" a little better, knowing he must face the voters.

6. Were School Board Members Exposed to Conflicts of Interest?

We will pass rather quickly over this question, since we think that evidence already presented indicates the conflicts of interest to which Rough Rock board members were exposed. When they kept on staff employees who were habitually intoxicated, in spite of many official statements emphasizing the need to shield children from such problems, we think they placed the interests of close relatives above the interests of the pupils. In insisting that dormitory parents and laundry workers be rotated every five, six, or eight weeks (the period varied from time to time), the members may have been placing the interests of job-hungry relatives and friends above the welfare of children and the school as a whole. If a situation arose in which pupil welfare dictated that administrators be challenged very sharply, in areas in which they had not yet permitted the board to intrude, the desire to keep the stipends coming and the hope for further increases might well create a conflict.

7. As Repository of Final Legal Power, Did Dine, Inc., Compromise Local Control?

During Rough Rock's first two years, the corporation that was responsible by law for all its affairs--Dine, Inc.,--was comprised of a self-perpetuating board of three Navahos, none of them elected by a Navaho community or drawn from the Rough Rock area. At the beginning of the third year, two more Dine directors were added, one of them a member of the Rough Rock board. As we indicated in chapter 1, Dine had made a "gentleman's agreement," strictly extra-legal in nature, that it would regard all decisions made by the Rough Rock school board as final. Each month one of the weekly board meetings was designated as a joint meeting of the Dine directors and the Rough Rock school board.

This structural arrangement may in the long run pose some potential for compromising community control. In examining the board minutes in toto, however, we encountered no evidence that the Dine directors had failed to honor their agreement. On several occasions we thought questions asked of administrators by one or two Dine directors in the joint meetings were cogent and critical, likely to encourage the members of the school board to be less passive. The five current board members and one former board member interviewed insisted that relationships with Dine had created no problem. Administrators who had not hesitated to state that the board was often director-dominated all insisted there had been no interference from Dine.

8. Did Board Decisions Facilitate Efficient, Effective Operations?

We think the decisions mentioned earlier regarding toleration of employee drinking and absences and the five-to-eight-week rotation of dormitory parents and laundry workers were detrimental to the welfare of the school and the pupils. Not many of the members' choices could be put into this category, however, and there is likelihood that the board's over-all impact was very positive, reducing the alienation that has often been observed in schools for American Indians. The following passages, relating to community involvement, may serve to emphasize that point.

Community Involvement

As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, even casual observation at Rough Rock suggested that relationships between the school and its community were unusually, perhaps even phenomenally, rich and well developed. Local people were almost always present in the halls of the administration building, acting much as if they owned it--sitting, chatting, visiting the Arts and Crafts room, stopping at the dining hall for a meal, dropping into classrooms to see how their children are doing. They played basketball in the gymnasium, attended the school's movies, used the facilities for community affairs. They obviously thought it a pleasant, accepting spot, a good location for meeting friends or passing the time of day.

We obtained a similar picture in interviewing parents. When asked to name the two most important Navaho leaders in the community, 50 per cent of Rough Rock parents mentioned the school board or its members, as compared with 5 per cent at Rock Point and none at the other two schools. As Table 3.4 indicates, all parents interviewed at Rough Rock (and nearly all at Rock Point) indicated awareness of a school board (or educational committee). A remarkable 85 per cent of Rough Rock parents were able to name at least three members of the board (Table 3.5). (We doubt that 5 per cent of Chicago citizens could do as well.)

Table 3.4 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Does the School Your Child Attends Have a School Board (or Educational Committee)?"

School	Per Cent Answering Yes (N)	No (N)	No Answer (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Public	55.6 (5)	33.3 (3)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	100.0 (27)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	88.2 (15)	11.8 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)

Table 3.5 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Item: "Please Name as Many School Board (or School Committee) Members as You Can Think of."

School	Per Cent Correctly Naming None (N)	1 (N)	2 (N)	3 or more (N)	No Answer (N)	Total Responses (N)
Chinle Public	33.3 (3)	22.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	33.3 (3)	100.0 (9)
Rock Point	17.6 (3)	5.9 (1)	47.2 (8)	17.6 (3)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)
Rough Rock	3.7 (1)	3.7 (1)	7.4 (2)	85.2 (23)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (27)

Some 41 per cent of Rough Rock parents claimed to know their child's teacher, though this proportion was surpassed at Rock Point (Table 3.6). (The two Chinle schools were miles behind on this.) Rough Rock and Rock Point were much alike as to the encouraging percentage of parents who reported they had visited their child's classroom (Table 3.7) or had been visited at home by the teacher (Table 3.8). Chinle Boarding had a poor record of home visitation (for these families located far away, at least), but a very good record of classroom visitation, according to these figures. Rough Rock produced 41 per cent of parents saying they had taken part in adult education offerings at the school, as compared with 12 per cent at Rock Point and 9 per cent of parents from Chinle Boarding. The Chinle Public school parents, the very small sample suggest, may have participated fairly well in adult education, perhaps because of the proximity to their homes of paved roads. (Table 3.9).

Almost all Rough Rock parents interviewed said their school was following what most local Navahos wanted (Table 3.10). Some 74 per cent could think of people at the school that most Navahos liked (as could at least an equally high proportion at Rock Point) (Table 3.11). Only 30 per cent could think of people at the school that many Navahos disliked, along with a comparable share of parents at Rock Point (Table 3.12). Pathetically, around half the Chinle Boarding School

Table 3.6 Answers of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Do You Know Your Child's Teacher?"

School	Per Cent Responding Yes (N)	 No (N)	 Other (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	9.1 (1)	81.8 (9)	9.1 (1)	100.0 (11)
Rough Rock	40.7 (11)	55.6 (15)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Chinle Public	11.1 (1)	77.8 (7)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)
Rock Point	58.8 (10)	29.4 (5)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)

Table 3.7 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Have You Ever Visited Your Child's Classroom?"

School	Per Cent Saying Yes (N)	 No (N)	Other (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	72.7 (8)	27.3 (3)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Rough Rock	59.3 (16)	37.0 (10)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Chinle Public	33.3 (3)	55.6 (5)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)
Rock Point	52.9 (9)	47.2 (8)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)

Table 3.8 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Has Your Child's Teacher Visited You at Home?"

School	Per Cent Responding Yes (N)	 No (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	9.1 (1)	90.9 (10)	100.0 (11)
Rough Rock	33.3 (9)	66.7 (18)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	35.3 (6)	64.7 (11)	100.0 (17)
Chinle Public	11.1 (1)	88.9 (8)	100.0 (9)

Table 3.9 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Have You Taken Part in Any Educational Programs for Adults?"*

School	Per Cent Answering Yes (N)	 No (N)	There Are None (or Knows of None) (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	9.1 (1)	54.5 (6)	36.4 (4)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	33.3 (3)	66.7 (6)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Rock Point	11.8 (2)	88.2 (15)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)
Rough Rock	40.7 (11)	59.3 (16)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (27)

* At Rough Rock, the programs were identified as offered by the school.

Table 3.10 Responses of Parents and Guardians to the Question: "Is the School Following What Most Local Navahos Want for Their Children?"

School	Per Cent Answering Yes (N)	No (N)	Don't Know (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	20.0 (2)	20.0 (2)	60.0 (6)	100.0 (10)
Chinle Public	66.6 (2)	0.0 (0)	33.3 (1)	100.0 (3)
Rock Point	75.0 (6)	25.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (8)
Rough Rock	95.7 (22)	4.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (23)

Table 3.11 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Can You Think of One or Two People at the School That Many Local Navahos Like?"

School	Knows of None (N)	Per Cent Responding Doesn't Know the People (N)	One or more are Liked (N)	Other (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	0.0 (0)	72.7 (8)	27.3 (3)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	0.0 (0)	66.6 (2)	33.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (13)
Rough Rock	8.7 (2)	13.0 (3)	73.9 (17)	4.3 (1)	100.0 (23)
Rock Point	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	77.8 (7)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)

Table 3.12 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Can You Think of One or Two People at the School that Many Local Navahos Dislike?"

School	Knows of None (N)	Doesn't Know the People (N)	Per Cent Responding One or More are Disliked (N)	Other (N)	No Answer (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	18.2 (2)	54.5 (6)	0.0 (0)	27.3 (3)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	11.1 (1)	77.8 (7)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	51.9 (14)	0.0 (0)	29.6 (8)	7.4 (2)	11.1 (3)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	37.5 (3)	25.0 (2)	37.5 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (8)*

* This question was omitted in interviews of 9 Rock Point parents.

parents didn't know school people well enough to say. (They lived too far from the school.) When asked what they didn't like about their school, over fifty per cent of parents in all four groups refused to complain, though we suspect, as we suggested earlier, that the refusal to complain had a different meaning at Chinle public (Table 3.13). When asked whether the child had learned anything at school that made him treat his parents badly, Chinle Public school parents began to speak up; 56 per cent of them said "Yes" (Table 3.14). A surprising 26 per cent of Rough Rock parents also replied affirmately; in explaining their answers, most of these parents suggested or implied that the children were undisciplined at school and consequently behaved unacceptably when they came home. (This explanation is somewhat reinforced by our dormitory observations, reported in chapter 4.) Most parents in all four groups said the Navaho way of life should be taught at school (Table 3.15). Rough Rock was far in the lead, however, in the proportion of parents believing that this was done in their school (Table 3.16).

Table 3.13 Responses of Parents and Guardians to the Question: "What Don't You Like About the School Your Child Attends?"

	School			
First or Only Problem Stated or Implied by Per Cent of Respondents Shown	Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Content of what is taught	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	0.0 (0)
Discipline and Care of Children, including references to dormitory, Safety, etc	18.2 (2)	22.2 (2)	22.2 (6)	35.3 (6)
Lack of communication between school and parent	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	5.9 (1)
Withholding of Financial benefits to parent	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Alcoholism among adults at school	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	0.0 (0)
Other	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	5.9 (1)
Refuses to complain	63.6 (7)	77.8 (7)	51.9 (14)	52.9 (9)
Total	100.0 (11)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (17)

Table 3.14 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Has Your Child Ever Learned Anything at School that Made Him Disrespectful or Mean to His Parents--or Made You Feel Sad?"

School	Per Cent Answering			Total
	Yes (N)	No (N)	Other (N)	Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	9.1 (1)	81.8 (8)	18.2 (2)	100.0 (11)
Rough Rock	25.9 (7)	70.4 (19)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	11.8 (2)	88.2 (15)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)
Chinle Public	55.6 (5)	33.3 (3)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)

Table 3.15 Answers of Parents and Guardians to the Question: "Do You Think Your Child Should Be Taught at School about the Navaho Way of Life?"

School	Per Cent Answering			Total
	Yes (N)	No (N)	Other (N)	Responses (N)
Chinle Public	77.8 (7)	0.0 (0)	22.2 (2)	100.0 (9)
Chinle Boarding	72.7 (8)	9.1 (1)	18.2 (2)	100.0 (11)
Rock Point	88.2 (15)	0.0 (0)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)
Rough Rock	85.2 (23)	7.4 (2)	7.4 (2)	100.0 (27)

Table 3.16 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Is it [the Navaho Way of Life] Being Taught in Your School?"

School	Per Cent Answering			Total
	Yes (N)	No (N)	Don't Know (N)	Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	0.0 (0)	81.8 (9)	18.2 (2)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	0.0 (0)	88.9 (8)	11.1 (1)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	96.3 (26)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	41.2 (7)	41.2 (7)	17.6 (3)	100.0 (17)

We find Tables 3.17 and 3.18 very intriguing, particularly in the light of classroom observations to be reported later (chapter 5). The highest percentage of parents complaining about lack of academic thrust was at Rough Rock, at least to the extent that our limited sample may be trusted (Table 3.17). And when parents were asked to identify what they liked most about their school, Rough Rock has the lowest proportion of parents (11 per cent) mentioning the general academic programs (Table 3.18). One complicating factor is the presence only at Rough Rock of the formal teaching of Navaho language and culture, but there is at least a suggestion here that the educational aspirations of parents are exceeding their school's instructional thrust. The interest of Navaho parents in their children's schooling may often be underestimated. When we asked parents from the four schools, "Do you really want your child to go to school?" the only parent out of a total of 62 who answered "No" indicated by her later comments that she did not understand the question. The responses we received when we asked "Why?" are well epitomized in the comment of a Rough Rock parent,

Table 3.17 Responses of Parents and Guardians to the Question: "What Should Your Child Learn in School that He Is Not Now Learning?"

First or Only Problem Stated or Implied by Per Cent of Respondents Shown	School			
	Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rock (N)
Some specific subject or activity (Typing, spelling, sports, music, writing, etc.)	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	17.6 (3)	11.1 (3)
Child plays around too much, doesn't work enough, doesn't learn enough, lacks push or competition	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	11.8 (2)	25.9 (7)
Doesn't know (and doesn't complain later)	27.3 (3)	33.3 (3)	29.4 (5)	22.2 (6)
Doesn't complain (or say he doesn't know)	9.1 (1)	33.3 (3)	35.3 (6)	25.9 (7)
It's too soon to find out	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)
Good manners, better behavior	0.0 (0)	22.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)
Other	18.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	5.9 (1)	3.7 (1)
Total (55)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (17)	100.0 (27)

"Because I'm uneducated and I don't want my children to be like me, so I send them to school to learn." Or as another put it, "Without education, you'll never get a decent job these days."

Purely because it says something, finally, we include Table 3.19, not particularly relevant to the topic under discussion. The bulk of parents at Chinle Boarding and Rough Rock seemed sold on boarding schools. Why? When we asked for an explanation, the response most often given was that bad roads would not permit regular attendance by any other device. As a close second choice, many parents said their children would be well trained, protected from the winter cold, clothed,

Table 3.18 Responses of Parents and Guardians to the Question: "What Do You Like About the School Your Child Attends?"

First or Only Reason Given by Per Cent of Respondents Shown		School		
	Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Learning (or teaching) in general or learning Egnlish	63.6 (7)	44.4 (4)	11.1 (3)	70.6 (12)
Learning both English and Navaho	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	66.7 (18)	11.8 (2)
Child is given good care or encouraged	78.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	5.9 (1)
Parents are given jobs	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	0.0 (0)
Community control	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Child is taught how to behave	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Comments not clearly positive or	9.1 (1)	44.4 (4)	3.7 (1)	11.8 (2)
Insists on complaining	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	0.0 (0)
Total	100.0 (11)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (17)

and fed if they lived in a dormitory. A few felt constrained to add, "I miss him terribly."

Community Development

One major objective of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, as we noted in chapter 1, was to help develop the school economically, socially and politically. In the pages that follow we will consider three aspects of that effort in sequence--the special community development projects, the programs of adult education, and the apparent social and political outcomes.

Special Projects

Rough Rock's monthly reports make many references to community development projects initiated by the school, several of which we have already mentioned. We had hoped that figures would be available concerning the costs and accomplishments of these projects, but Rough Rock accountants had come and gone with such

Table 3.19 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Is it Better for Children to Stay in a Dormitory or to Live at Home and Walk to School or Go on the Bus?"

	Per Cent Answering				
School	Dormitory (N)	Home (N)	Depends on Weather (N)	Other (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	90.9 (10)	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	33.3 (3)	44.4 (4)	0.0 (0)	22.2 (2)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	74.1 (20)	7.4 (2)	7.4 (2)	11.1 (3)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	41.2 (7)	5.9 (1)	35.3 (6)	17.6 (3)	100.0 (17)

frequency, we discovered, that the books were not in order; furthermore, the accounts were not kept in such a way as to support cost-benefit assessments. We were forced, then, to rely on the school's monthly reports, on what we observed first-hand, and on information obtained through interviews and casual discussions.

The big snowstorm of 1967 turned out to represent a special project in itself.

The local trader, the Friends missionary, and most parents we interviewed expressed appreciation of the role the school played in the crisis. Many school personnel devoted days to opening up roads, getting hay to marooned livestock, and helping Air Force helicopters bring food to isolated camps.

With the help of Navaho consultants from the Canoncito area, a building constructed of adobe was constructed on the compound to demonstrate the potential of the clay in the area for low-cost housing. The building was used by the community services branch of the school and eventually provided space for the post office opened in 1968. Most comments made about the adobe demonstration suggested that it convinced Rough Rock people mostly of the difficulties and hard work involved. So far as we could determine, no one in the community began to use adobe, but the building was a remarkable bargain for the $8,000 it was estimated to have cost. A major reason for the post office, we were informed, was that administrators who have since left the school wanted to deprive the local trader of opportunity to follow a practice that has been reported frequently on the reservation: Since the trading post is usually also the post office, some traders seize the welfare checks of local people as a way of ensuring that they will pay their debts. Current administrators declared that there was no good reason for taking such action at Rough Rock, for the local trader had never been known to take advantage of the Navaho (see interview quotations in chapter 8).

A toy factory was authorized by the board in September, 1967. Located in the "old school," the factory employed two Navahos and produced sturdy wooden toys that were purchased by ONEO for Head Start classes on the reservation. It was terminated in the summer of 1968. Complaints appear in the minutes of several board meetings concerning employee absences and missing records. Most individuals interviewed on the Rough Rock school compound felt that the director of community services, preoccupied with other tasks, had been unable to supervise the project adequately.

Efforts were begun in November, 1967, to establish a gas station at Rough Rock. We were told by the head of community services that much staff time was devoted to this project, but it floundered when the son of the woman who had promised to make the land available (on the condition that her son be manager) turned out to be incompetent.

In January, 1968, it was reported that "a long time dream of many Rough Rock staff has been realized with the completion of a 35 yard square greenhouse." The facility was to be used for training local people and for experimentation with various plants. While our study was in process, the greenhouse stood padlocked and unused. We were informed that personnel had lost interest in the experimentation, though a few pistachio trees once started in the greenhouse were growing on the compound. It was hoped they would survive the winter.

A poultry porject also was launched in January, 1968. In July, according to the monthly report:

> Because of problems with odor, the poultry project has had to be discontinued with the sale of all the chickens to the community. However, the school board believes that the time and energies of the Community Services staff have not been wasted as over 630 chickens (both chicks and hens) have been introduced into the community and over 800 dozen eggs have been marketed.

We encountered numerous reports that mismanagement had permitted the chicken farm to become unsightly and malodorous. One claim make by Rough Rock administrators was that employment at the chicken farm had so rehabilitated a local alcoholic that he was hired by the local trader as soon as the project was terminated, but the trader and local missionary reported that the man (a) had never been a serious alcoholic and (b) had worked for the trader long before the chicken farm started.

In a visit to Rough Rock in February, 1968, the director of the study was informed of plans to build small earthfill dams in the area and to introduce a type of range grass reputed to be effective for reducing soil erosion. By November these ideas had been abandoned.

During the summer of 1968, the community services office attempted to improve living conditions for school employees who were renting trailers from the chapter in the vicinity of the old school. Using National Youth Corps personnel and volunteers who had come to Rough Rock for the summer, the school's community services division installed a new sewer line and propane line and scraped and painted the exteriors of the trailers. Time ran out before the "bathroom trailer" whose toilet facilities connected to the sewer could be renovated; when we inspected it in January, 1969, we found the entire floor soggy from leaking water and the odor extremely offensive (to us, unbearable). Several Rough Rock employees, including one who had access to the fiscal records, complained that the area was still not fit for human habitation and that three new cabins could have been constructed for less money than was spent on the project. We were unable to obtain figures in this regard but were inclined to agree with her assessment of the conditions.

During November and December, 1968, the community services division of the school was engaged in the construction of two buildings on the compound, one an automotive shop for instruction and community use and the other an "environmental laboratory" or science building. Teachers complained that they had not asked for an "environmental lab" and requested that the space be designated for classroom use, since several classes were meeting in inadequate areas (see chapters 5 and 6). We encountered many charges (some of them from people who had worked on the projects) that materials had been wasted, and numerous respondents joked about lumber and concrete blocks that kept disappearing at Rough Rock and showing up for sale at Chinle. Several teachers asserted that, since no plans had been made in advance, parts of the wall in the science building had to be torn out to provide spaces for windows. An employee in the bookkeeping office reported that, though the science building was budgeted at $3,000 (it was constructed of adobe), $12,000 had already been expended and "the walls are not even man-high." While our study was in process, channels were being chiselled into the walls of the newly constructed automotive shop to provide a place for conduit. The wiring initially installed had been condemmed, we were told.

At one time it was planned to start a laundromat in the old school building, and plumbing and wiring were installed for that purpose. It was also anticipated that the dining hall at Rough Rock would function as a restaurant catering to local people. These projects did not materialize. The head of community services explained that few people not employed by the school could affordto patronize a cafe. It made less sense to buy expensive equipment for a laundromat than to let local citizens use equipment sitting unused, a good part of the time, in the dormitories. We were inclined to agree on both counts.

In two long interviews with the assistant director for community services, we sought reasons why so many community development projects had been terminated The primary explanation, as he expressed it, was that too much energy had been focused on "big, flashy, attention-getting" projects, which were launched impulsively. without proper thought and planning. He described the filling station project, for example, as starting one day when an administrator "came rushing into the building all excited, waving his arms and shouting, 'We're going to start a filling station! They need a filling station!' Then poor ____________ had to work his tail off for several weeks, running around finding out about filling stations." These projects were not well suited to the Navaho way of doing things, our respondent declared. A better approach would be more quiet--helping improve roads, water supplies, and sanitary facilities, and encouraging the development of cottage industry. Many of the previous ideas had not originated with the Navahos at all.

It is well known that small business ventures almost everywhere have a high mortality rate. With the additional risks of working with a non-entrepreneurial culture, one must anticipate some failures. We tend to believe some projects were chosen partly for their public relations value, launched without proper forethought, and provided with insufficient follow-through. But a certain amount of trial-and-error learning may have been unavoidable. In the process, many Navahos who would otherwise have been unemployed earned wages, supported their families, and had important opportunities to acquire new skills.

Adult Education

According to the school's proposal to OEO for 1967-68, the school board saw the arts and crafts program "principally as an income-generating project which can make the difference between despair and hope." The intent was to develop the skills local Navahos needed to produce marketable arts and crafts. When we interviewed the assistant director for community services in November, 1968, he complained, as did many other respondents, that a discouraging proportion of arts and crafts trainees had participated simply because they were paid, that numerous trainees carved out full-time jobs by moving from rug weaving to sash belts to silversmithing to moccasin making, to basket weaving to leatherwork. He described one man who spent six weeks in the silversmith class copying designs with tracing paper. The minutes recorded numerous complaints by board members that the arts and crafts training had not yet produced people sufficiently skilled to serve as instructors themselves; the board was annoyed, it appeared, that so many instructors had to be brought from other areas.

What was the success ratio of the arts and crafts program in terms of the improved ability of local people to produce items for the market? The local trader, like other traders on the reservation, reported that the production of crafts was tapering off; so we knew that the results of arts and crafts instruction were not being shown there. They would most likely be shown, we concluded, at the school itself, for the school was purchasing items made at home by local people for higher prices than were available elsewhere and was reselling them without any attempt to make a profit. On the basis of twelve monthly reports in which an apparent attempt was made to list all arts and crafts instructors and trainees, we would say that, during the typical school month, eight or nine people were hired as instructors, one was hired as a coordinator, and between 26 and 32 were paid trainees. Examining the available records for the period between February, 1967, to November, 1968, we determined that 101 different people had been trainees in the program during that period. When the program started, we were informed, one or two local people began to sell rugs and other items to the school. As of April, 1969, we were informed by the coordinator of the program that the number had gone up to ten, that eight of these people acquired their skills in the arts and crafts program, and that the average monthly amount paid out by the school for items produced by the ten was $100 ($10 per person per month). If we make the liberal assumption that an additional eight trainees now in the program would begin producing at home at a similar rate if the program were terminated and that a similarly generous market would be available, it appears that the net financial impact on the community, after two and one-half years of operation, would consist of adding an average of $10 per month to the incomes of sixteen people. When we asked the parents in our sample who had participated in the arts and crafts program whether the training had enabled them to make more money later, we obtailed no clearly affirmative responses. One respondent explained that the program made no difference, for he had made money as a silversmith before beginning work as a trainee.

While the trainees were working at the school, they were paid by the hour, the raw materials were provided by the school, and the end products were claimed by the school and sold to offset the costs of the program. We were unable to obtain figures that could be used to estimate to what extent the program was self-sustaining. The only data we stumbled upon may be somewhat misleading, since we are certain that there would be a better market for other arts and crafts: We expressed interest in three boxes of Navaho pottery that were stacked in the community services building on January 16, 1969. The head of community services said he had sold the entire lot for $35; they were the proceeds, he said, of a pottery-making program costing $1,700.

It is our opinion, on the basis of what we were able to see and hear about the arts and crafts program, including information from interviews with the people who were in the best position to know, that it functioned more to provide rotating employment than to develop skills.

We were favorably impressed with other aspects of adult education at Rough Rock, though there was no firm evidence as yet as to the outcomes of the effort. Our discussions with the Navaho head of the program and with one teacher of classes designed in preparation for the GED (General Educational Development high school equivalency examination), along with our observations of classes, convinced us that the programs were well designed to fit local needs and interests and that the instruction was well planned and conducted. In addition to GED instruction, adult education classes covered basic English, current events, homesite improvement, livestock management, basic arithmetic and nutrition. Students were shown how to apply for tribal permits, how to build outhouses, how to control rats and mosquitoes, and how to put surplus food commodities to good use. The facilities provided for the program were seriously inadequate. The head of the program complained that several students lost interest when his classes were shifted from one area to another on the compound. At the time of our study, he was functioning in a 14-by-20 foot room that could not efficiently be used for more than eight or ten students. He had one blackboard about four feet square, no bookcases, no bulletin board, and a single light bulb for illumination. An examination of his records suggested that the adult education program as a whole served something like twenty adults in a typical week. All enrollees, so far as we could determine, were employees of the school, drawing wages for the time they spent in the classes. One of them complained that the school would not also pay her for attending meetings of the local chapter, even though it expected her to attend.

Social and Political Outcomes

Though the relationship would be impossible to prove, our contacts and observations convinced us that the creation of a Rough Rock chapter early in 1968 (the area had previously been included with Many Farms in a single chapter) was attributable to the fact that the school functioned as a center of activity, provided common interests, and thus did much to create a sense of community at Rough Rock. However, the chapter had not yet emerged as a significant force, probably because it was overshadowed by the school, with its liberal funds and large employment program. But the school board had been active for more than two years, and numerous committees had been formed from time to time, in connection with the medicine man school, Follow Through, and other special projects. It is likely, we think, that important leadership skills accrued to the community in the process.

Some considerable evidence relating to the apparent social impact of the Rough Rock experiment were provided earlier, when we considered the extensive involvement of the community with its school. At this point we turn to parental responses suggesting that the school contributed considerably to the community's optimism and well being. Fully 90 per cent of Rough Rock parents reported that circumstances in the community had improved over the past five years, as compared with 82 per cent at Rock Point, 78 per cent of parents from Chinle Public, and a low 27 per cent of parents from the Chinle Boarding school (Table 3.20). The

Table 3.20 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "How do Circumstances in This Community Today Compare with What They Were Five Years Ago?"

	Per Cent Saying				
School	Better (N)	Worse (N)	The Same (N)	Vague Answers (N)	Total (N)
Chinle BIA	27.3 (3)	18.2 (2)	54.5 (6)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	77.8 (7)	11.1 (1)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	88.9 (24)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	82.4 (14)	11.8 (2)	5.9 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)

optimism is understandable at Rough Rock, where many members of the community held at least rotating jobs at the school and where community-development projects had been launched repeatedly. The trader reported that new pick-up trucks had appeared with remarkable frequency since the school was established and that the people seemed to have much more money to spend. It was his impression that they were happier and more optimistic. He kept some school publications on hand and enjoyed the expressions of delight when he showed local Navahos their published pictures. At Rock Point, numerous tribal projects had been launched, and two expansions of the boarding school had taken place in recent years. Chinle had been growing rapidly (in terms of the reservation); so there were many new employment opportunities for local Navahos. But in the vicinity of Pinon, from which most of the pupils in our Chinle Boarding school sample were drawn, little had been done to improve conditions. The people had been promised a school, but because of a dispute between Navahos and Hopi concerning land rights in the area, the buildings had not been constructed. Tribal authorities seemed to overlook Pinon when apportioning "Ten-day Projects" and other welfare measures. The parents were probably realistic in reporting that conditions had not improved.

Further indications of optimism at Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle appeared in the responses summarized in Table 3.21, and the Pinon parents seemed more hopeful of the future than encouraged about the past. When asked who had done anything to help their community during the past five years, 52 per cent of Rough Rock parents identified the local school, while parents at Rock Point and Chinle Public were more likely to mention tribally sponsored activities, including ONEO activities. (Table 3.22). Fifty per cent of parents who lived near Pinon said no one had helped. When Rough Rock and Rock Point parents were asked what should be done to help, none mentioned jobs, in marked contrast to the other two groups of parents (Table 3.23). Rough Rock parents seem preoccupied with the need for better roads, Rock Point parents with the water shortage. The subsistence necessities were perhaps more plentiful at Rough Rock than in the other communities. Data summarized in Table 3.24 suggest that Rough Rock parents had acquired an encouraging assertiveness; they believed that local Navahos could take steps to improve their own

Table 3.21 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Do You Think Things Will Be Better in This Community Five Years from Now Than They Are at Present?"

School	Per Cent Saying Yes or I Think So (N)	No (N)	Don't Know (N)	Other (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle BIA	45.5 (5)	18.2 (2)	27.3 (3)	9.1 (1)	100.0 (11)
Chinle Public	88.9 (8)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (9)
Rough Rock	77.8 (21)	0.0 (0)	18.5 (5)	3.7 (1)	100.0 (27)
Rock Point	70.6 (12)	0.0 (0)	23.5 (4)	5.9 (1)	100.0 (17)

Table 3.22 First Person or Agency Mentioned by Parents and Guardians in Response to Question: "What Has Been Done During the Last Five Years to Help Local Navahos Make More Money and Live Better? Who Did These Things?"

First Response of Indicated Per Cent	School Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
ONEO, including HITP, Head Start, NYC	0.0 (0)	33.3 (3)	14.8 (4)	35.3 (6)
Tribe or its officers, including NTVA, sawmill at Navaho, 10 Day Projects	10.0 (1)	33.3 (3)	29.6 (8)	23.5 (4)
The local school or its officials or schools generally, or the federal government through the school	30.0 (3)	11.1 (1)	51.9 (14)	17.6 (3)
The local chapter or its officers	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	5.9 (1)
Welfare agencies	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	5.9 (1)
Unidentified local people	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	5.9 (1)
Nobody has really helped (and similarly pessimistic answers)	50.0 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	5.9 (1)
I don't know	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Total	100.0 (10)*	100.0 (9)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (17)

*The interviewer inadvertently omitted this question when questioning one of the eleven Chinle Boarding School parents interviewed.

Table 3.23 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "What Should be Done That is Not Being Done to Help Local Navahos Make More Money and Live Better?"

Responses of Per Cent Indicated	School Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Provide more jobs	63.6 (7)	77.8 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Improve water supply	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	83.3 (5)
Improve roads	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	55.6 (15)	10.0 (0)
More training	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	16.7 (1)
Service stations	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Less drinking, less greed	18.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Less favoritism in hiring people	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	0.0 (0)
Better community leadership	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)	0.0 (0)
Don't know	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	11.1 (3)	0.0 (0)
Other	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Total	100.0 (11)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (6)

Table 3.24 Responses of Parents and Guardians to Question: "Is There Much That Local Navahos Can Do to Make Things Better?"

Response of Per Cent Indicated	School Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Yes, or I think so, if they do certain things themselves	9.1 (1)	66.6 (6)	85.2 (23)	35.3 (6)
Yes, if there are more jobs	45.5 (5)	22.2 (2)	3.7 (1)	41.2 (0)
Yes, but only if Washington helps	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
I don't know	9.1 (1)	11.1 (1)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
No, or I doubt it, or I don't think so	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Vague answers	27.3 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	23.5 (4)
Total	100.0 (11)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (17)

lot, rather than hoping something would make jobs available (Table 3.24). There was similar self-confidence at Chinle, but perhaps not to such a marked extent. There was less at Rock Point. We felt sorry for parents in neglected Pinon.

We must give some attention, finally, to a question raised by one of the best known Navaho leaders: Speaking of Rough Rock Navahos, this individual asked: "Are they, as some have said, simply role-playing and being involved only to the extent that they are paid to be involved?" We encountered many complaints at Rough Rock, from parents, from many teachers, from many other employees, from people in close contact with the community, from administrators, from current board members, and from a former board member to the effect that board members were paid too much and members of the community received remuneration for everything, including attending classes and serving on committees. Several Navahos who knew the community well argued that it was being "ruined" by the "hand-outs." Whenever anyone was asked to do something to help himself or the community, they said, the first question was, "How much will I get paid?" We must ponder this issue well in drawing our conclusions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

We should reiterate at this point that unequivocal evidence is difficult to obtain on questions of the type considered in this chapter. In drawing conclusions, we acknowledge that other interpretations are possible and in many cases plausible. What follows is the picture we consider most warranted by the data.

Important strides were made toward achieving community control at Rough Rock, though much distance remained to be covered. Board members were exceptionally well known in the community, were believed genuinely in control of the school, and were viewed by at least half the parents as responsive to community opinion. The school was a remarkably focal community institution. Contacts between classroom and home were frequent, though not as frequent as school leaders suggested they should be. Nearly half the parents had participated in adult education classes. Most of them felt the school was rather well attuned to their wishes, though there were slight but interesting indications that they wanted more academic thrust. One parent out of four seemed discontent with disciplinary practices in the dormitory.

On the negative side: the board's involvement in budgetary considerations and classroom and dormitory affairs was surprisingly limited. With some exceptions, one could argue, its attention was wedded to functions not normally assumed by schools, such as community development and a rotating employment program for local people, while the dormitories and classrooms were governed by administrators. Traditional schoolmen would hardly have felt threatened, for their areas of customary purview were little trespassed upon by the board. Even in areas of curriculum uniquely Navaho, such as the teaching of Navaho language and culture, the board's directives were very general. In some respects, there was broader administrative discretion at Rough Rock than in the majority of American schools, for the board had little to do with the selection of professional employees and nothing, for all practical purposes, to do with their firing (or acceptance of their resignations): this, interestingly enough, is one of the primary areas in which advocates of community control in urban centers have sought transfer of authority to laymen.

At the same time, the Rough Rock board was encouragingly self-assertive. The potential existed for a considerable broadening of its functions. At this stage, we think, the board should be confronted much more frequently with options (to be selected from) rather than administrator recommendations (to be approved).

We think school boards on the Navaho reservation must be structured with great care to encourage independence from the administrator and sensitivity to the community. (The same urgency would not apply among militant groups.) Though a salutary relationship between school and community seemed evident at Rough Rock, the board was ill-constituted to ensure that the tendency would continue. The method of extending payments and other inducements to the board, the magnitude of the inducements, patterns of board nepotism in the employment program, and ineffective methods of ensuring community scrutiny of board activities all had potential for distorting the board's function, particularly if some future administrator were inclined toward coercion. The structure seriously needed revising. It was not a model to be adopted elsewhere. It apparently had produced unfortunate decisions at Rough Rock itself, though the board's over-all impact was no doubt very beneficial.

It has been argued in this connection that disadvantaged people should be paid handsomely for public service. The argument is somewhat vitiated when the payment diminishes their effectiveness as spokesmen for the community. On the other hand, the claim is advanced that there is no alternative to paying Rough Rock board members amounts at least rough ly comparable to the wages of nonskilled employees. Otherwise, since local incomes are generally very low and the school is the only major source of local employment, unimportant people who work at the school will earn more money, and therefore acquire more status, than their employers, the board members. For this reason and others, capable men will seek jobs at the school rather than serving on the board.

These arguments do not vindicate the nepotism in Rough Rock's employment program for local people. Neither, when the full range of options is considered, do they necessarily warrant the board's large stipends. If community development functions (including the arts and crafts program and other aspects of adult education, perhaps), assumed by the school at the time of our study, were allocated to some other local agency, such as the chapter, local leaders would have opportunity to earn significant incomes at one institution while serving on the board of another, and the prime justification for the compromising stipends would no longer exist. The history of a very active educational committee at Rock Point suggests that representatives of Navaho communities will devote much time to school affairs without sizeable financial inducements (see chapter 2). At Rough Rock, board members enjoy remarkable community status and special privileges; they have many reasons, apart from money, for serving on the board.

Further reasons for transferring community development functions to the chapter may be identified: The Rough Rock chapter now seems eclipsed virtually to the point of disablement by the school; some checks and balances may be needed here. With two sources of local employment, the pressure for nepotism would be reduced.

We are reluctant to suggest an additional weapon against nepotism: that Rough Rock administrators be given a responsibility they have often requested: administering the employment program within guidelines established by the board. For one thing, we see advantages in giving the board fairly direct access to employees--assuming the board itself is functioning well, the employees are less likely to be callous toward parents and pupils. In addition, we feel some ambivalence toward the patronage system developed by the Rough Rock board. Systems of this type (though not necessarily taking the form of flagrant nepotism) are neither new nor unusual in the United States. In some contexts they seem virtually a prerequisite of political power. In the final analysis, the best objective at Rough Rock may be to control systems of privilege rather than attempting to obliterate them (if indeed obliteration were possible). We think Rough Rock's patronage system is badly out of control at present. But for the sake of its own development, the board needs to learn how to function in terms of consistent policy, not to be relieved of responsibility whenever it takes ill-advised actions. Increased scrutiny by members of the community and by funding agencies would probably help.

The school board's relationship to Dine, Inc., has as yet created no notable problems, though one wonders why, in the long run, legal authority should not be located where actual authority is sought. If some coordinating agency eventually is needed for Navaho-operated schools, it might better be constituted federally, deriving its powers from local schools rather than granting authority to them. If local control is a primary objective, legal and organizational structures should minimize opportunities to stifle it.

Most special community development projects planned or initiated by the school had been terminated. Though a high mortality rate is understandable for ventures of this kind, part of the problem, apparently, was an emphasis on projects with high publicity potential, insufficient planning, and lack of administrative follow-through. But important lessons were learned about approaches that do not work, and in the process many Navahos were given employment and training.

The school's arts and crafts program was particularly open to question, at least to the extent that the school's declared objectives for the program were taken seriously. It functioned for the first two years to provide employment much more than to develop significant skills. Possibly better results would have been achieved if the impulses of the Navaho school board (which for sometime opposed paying the trainees, for instance) had been followed, rather than the convictions of administrators. Few discernible accomplishments (other than stipends for the participants) resulted from the program. Other adult education offerings seemed more carefully designed in terms of local needs and interests, perhaps because the Navaho in charge had much freedom to do what he though should be done. The facilities, however, were seriously inadequate, and the classes had been shunted around the compound to make room for other functions.

We suspect that the school's impact on community optimism and well being was effected mainly through the employment program, in the form of wages to local people. This fact may be interpreted in at least three ways, depending on what it is assumed that Rough Rock was demonstrating: As the first interpretation, if Rough Rock sought to show what short-term infusions of liberal funding could do for community development, we think not much was demonstrated, for we see little by way of an economic base that would be left if the funds were removed. Some important residue of optimism, self assertion, and leadership skills would no doubt remain, but this is scarcely enough to justify the large outlays. Significant community optimism, self assertion, and leadership skills were exhibited at Rock Point, though perhaps not to an equal extent, without any extra money earmarked for community development. As a second interpretation, if Rough Rock's purpose was to prove that a copious continuing inflow of federal grants would do much to develop a community, it probably succeeded, but the demonstration then was unrealistic and unnecessary. Few people would doubt, demonstration or not, that using federal funds to create rotating employment opportunities for at least 50 per cent of family breadwinners (a very conservative estimate at Rough Rock) would contribute considerably to the well being of an impoverished community. Furthermore, funds of this magnitude are not likely to be available to the vast majority of disadvantaged communities in the United States, particularly so far as politically impotent American Indians are concerned. Why demonstrate methods that can seldom if ever be applied elsewhere? Finally, if Rough Rock sought to use its funds to create techniques of community development that could be applied elsewhere with rather modest monetary outlays, the demonstration failed.

What then of the involvement of local people? In response to the Navaho leader's question mentioned earlier ("Are they . . . being involved only to the extent that they are paid to be involved?"), the direct answer would be, "Basically, yes." So far we could determine, there was very little that local Navahos did at Rough Rock beyond what they were paid to do. But the conclusion does not necessarily follow that money was the only, or even the primary, inducement. For all we know, they might have participated just as well if they had not been paid. The Rough Rock experiment was not structured to provide evidence on this critical issue. Ironically, more information on generally applicable techniques of community involvement (generally applicable because they do not require exceptional funding) was available at Rock Point. Rock Point's example suggests, fortunately (or perhaps unfortunately, from the standpoint of those who seek better funding), that a very significant measure of community involvement can be accomplished, in a boarding school whose constituency is small and close at hand, by wanting it and working at it, without using money as a major inducement.

Rock Point suggests, further, that in a boarding school whose constituency is small and close at hand the community may be stimulated to exercise an important measure of influence (perhaps the word control is too strong) and may achieve a surprising sense of power in school affairs within the existing structure of BIA.

On the basis of these observations, we offer the following recommendations:

1. The Rough Rock school board should be involved much more extensively in the planning and monitoring of curriculum and dormitory functions, and to some consistent extent, at least, in the hiring and firing of professional personnel.

2. Rough Rock administrators, no matter how well intentioned, should be extremely wary of imposing upon the school board, even through persistent persuasion, their convictions as to what Navahos should think or feel. A major function of the school board, we think, is to apprise administrators of what Navahos think and feel. The administrator's function (particularly when he is an Anglo) is to contribute professional insights, not perceptions of Navaho culture, to the dialogue.

3. For some time to come, it is likely that community control will continue to be developed at Rough Rock only to the extent that administrators carefully nurture it. Paradoxically, the director must help reduce his own power to dominate

the board. Every opportunity should be seized to confront the board with options phrased in such a way that the members can exercise and strengthen their decision making skills. At times it may be necessary to withhold a recommendation and permit the board to make an ill-advised decision, for the members must begin to sense the consequences, good and bad, of their actions. Special techniques should be devised for acquainting the members with various phases of school operation. Teachers and dormitory workers (particularly Navaho members of the staff) could be scheduled regularly to give reports and to answer any questions the board members might raise, for example. It is possible to discuss most classroom and dormitory matters in terms intelligent laymen like these can understand.

4. Rough Rock board members should continue to be paid adequately for their services and expenses, but not by the school. Possibly the best arrangement would be for funding agencies to grant monies to the Rough Rock chapter for this purpose. The chapter, in turn, would remunerate these men for representing the community in educational affairs.

5. Even when originating elsewhere, payments to board members should be considerably reduced, and the members should not be employed or remunerated for "extra services" by the school. If the members have no access to employment elsewhere in the community, the payments may need to be somewhat larger than when employment is available, but certainly not as large as at present.

6. Systematic board minutes should be maintained for all matters discussed by the board, and the minutes should be made more readily available, not held in the director's office.

7. Board meetings should be held in a location more conducive to the attendance of members of the community, such as the chapter house. A survey should be taken to determine the times at which most Rough Rock people would be able to attend, and the meetings should be scheduled accordingly. It should be made clear that all citizens are welcome and urged to attend.

8. Special approaches should be devised for increasing further the visibility of school board decisions. School-community meetings should be held more regularly in the school gymnasium or in the chapter house. Perhaps a summary of decisions

at each meeting could be tape-recorded in Navaho and made available constantly through an easily operated "language-laboratory" console.

9. The board should devote more attention to complaints raised by members of the community with respect to such matters as Navaho elements in the curriculum, disciplinary practices in the dormitory, and favoritism in the employment program.

10. Funding agencies should enforce more rigorously their conflict-of-interest clauses. The Rough Rock chapter might consider creating a review panel with power to consider appeals from school board personnel decisions, particularly if board member payments are channelled through the chapter.

11. To the extent that special community development funds continue to be made available at Rough Rock for special projects, arts and crafts instruction, a medicine man school, and perhaps other adult education, they should be granted, not to the school, but to some other local agency, probably the chapter. It might often be advisable in such a case for the chapter to contract with the school for needed physical facilities. Regardless of who provides them, facilities, materials, and equipment for adult education should be more adequate than in the past.

12. Legal authority over the Rough Rock school, now held by Dine, Inc., should be given to the school board, either through a statutory provision or through some other mechanism (such as incorporation). If a coordinating agency is needed in the future for educational institutions run by Navaho boards, it should derive its powers from these boards, not be in the position of granting authority to them.

Since we think other considerations of community involvement and development should be considered in as broad a context as possible, we will delay further recommendations in this area until the final chapter of this report, after other areas of the school have been analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

THE DORMITORIES

Like other observers, Rough Rock's leaders considered conditions in most dormitories for Navaho school children to be far from satisfactory. They envisioned some reforms. In the Rough Rock dormitories, as elsewhere in the school, children would learn how to function in both worlds, Anglo and Navaho. Navaho tales would be told regularly by parents and medicine men. Sub-professionals would be given initial training to prepare them for their work, and all staff members, professional or not, would receive continuous instruction in such relevant fields as child development. Effective programs of health and recreation would be instituted. In addition, to quote from the school's initial proposal:

> 1. Dormitory staffing patterns will be altered to provide more intensive work with children in their total environment without neglecting the more mundane household chores necessary.
>
> 2. Provisions will be made to accommodate parents in the dormitory situation for limited periods of time to provide them meaningful orientation to what their children experience in the dorms.
>
> 3. Specific attention will be given to the inculcation of self-discipline in the children rather than merely respect for externally imposed authority.
>
> 4. Most careful attention will be given to helping children maintain respect for their indigenous culture--an attempt will be made to get away from the all too prevalent "us and them" concept where a dichotomy arises between Navaho and Anglo culture.
>
> 5. Provisions will be made to more completely acquaint the children with the ever expanding world about them. Although many such field trips will more properly fall within the particular province of the academic section, this will not preclude such excursions sponsored by the dormitory situation.
>
> 6. An exchange of personnel between the academic and dormitory sections will permit a cross fertilization of experiences and inculcation, in all school personnel, of a greater respect for the functions of all involved with the education of Navaho children.

The relationships observed in the dormitories at Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle were exceedingly complex. To depict them comprehensively would require several lengthy chapters. For present purposes, we must be selective, focusing on the areas Rough Rock's leaders had proposed in advance, and claimed at the time of our study, to emphasize particularly. We would emphasize, however, that we became more and more convinced during the study of the importance of the dormitories in boarding schools like these. As many school personnel observed, what happens in the dormitory goes far toward setting the emotional tone of the school.

After providing necessary background information concerning physical arrangements, we will turn to the following topics, all directly relevant to Rough Rock's announced objectives: routinized behavior; methods of discipline; organized recreation (including activities uniquely Navaho); adult-child relationships; dormitory-classroom relationships; and quality of child care. Subsequently we will examine the characteristics, training, and supervision of dormitory personnel as a source of possible explanations for what we observed in the dormitories, and we will explore to some extent the perceptions of pupils concerning dormitory life. Finally, we will draw some general conclusions concerning dormitory reforms at Rough Rock.

Information in this chapter was drawn primarily from the "live-in" described in chapter 1. In addition, we interviewed a total of 232 students in the four schools, 182 of whom were boarders. Data from 20 interviews conducted with day students at the Chinle Public School are not considered in this chapter, nor are the responses of 25 day students at Rock Point, or 5 day students at Rough Rock.

We interviewed nine ninth year students at Rough Rock, eight of whom were dorm students, but because there were no comparable groups at the other boarding schools, we have not included their responses in the information presented here. Table 4:1 summarizes the number of pupils, at each grade level interviewed at each

Table 4.1 Total Number of Students Interviewed

Years in School	Rough Rock (Board)	Rough Rock (Day)	Rock Point (Board)	Rock Point (Day)	Chinle BIA (All Board)	Chinle Public (All Day)	Total
First	14	4	12	7	21	4	62
Third	18		12	8	20	4	62
Fifth	10		11	4	15	5	45
Seventh	11		10	6	20	7	54
Ninth	8	1					9
Total	61	5	45	25	76	20	232

school. Tables in this chapter relating to pupil responses are based on data provided by interviews with the 174 boarding students.

Most of the students were interviewed during the day by one of our three Navaho interviewers. With the exception of the Chinle Public School group, a female field worker who had had no previous contact with Rough Rock interviewed most of the first year students at the three schools, and half the girls in the third, fifth, and seventh years. A male Navaho field worker, similarly unexposed to the school earlier, interviewed all of the fifth and seventh year boys at all three schools, and some of the third year group at Rock Point and Chinle. A former Navaho teacher at Rough Rock interviewed some third year boys at the three schools, and half the girls in the third, fifth, and seventh years. Though we have no doubt about the honesty of this young woman, we were concerned about bias because of her previous connection with the school. Therefore, we did not assign any of her former students, or any she knew well to her to be interviewed. She was not asked to make any observations. The only data she obtained were secured through tightly structured interviews, which were carefully checked. We had the other two Navaho interviewers re-interview a sample of her subjects, and compared the responses, finding them almost identical. This procedure also provided a check on our other workers, and it was duplicated to a lesser extent at Rock Point and Chinle.

At Rough Rock, the assistant director assigned subjects to each interviewer and established a daily time schedule which permitted one hour for each interview and allowed time for the child to be picked up and returned to class by the interviewer. The male interviewer interviewed the boys in the living room of the boys' dorm, the former teacher used the living room of the girls' dorm, and the other female Navaho interviewer used our small office off the rumpus room in the girls' dorm. At Rock Point the same scheduling procedure was used and girls were interviewed in the isolation rooms in the girls' wing of the dorm, boys in the boys' isolation room by the male worker.. The empty classrooms at Chinle made it possible for each interviewer to use a classroom to conduct the interviews.

With the exception of the questions concerning dorm parents asked at Rough Rock, the same interview schedule was used at all three schools. Each interviewer used the same Navaho translation, insofar as we were able to ensure this, in asking the questions. Several lengthy conferences were held to discuss problems of translation into Navaho, with the assistance, part of the time, of the Navaho who was to do our ill-fated "live-in" in the Rough Rock Community; he has had extensive experience as a field worker in linguistic studies and is reputed to have unusual command of the Navaho language. When a standard translation had been agreed upon, sample tape recordings were made, and interviewers referred to them often until they felt the interview was memorized. Interviewers were instructed to probe when necessary, but not to prompt. At all schools rapport was established with the child during the walk from the classroom to the place where the interviews were conducted, candy was given to the younger children at the beginning of the interview to alleviate what might have been a tense situation. A few children preferred to answer in English, but the bulk of the sample answered in Navaho. The interviewer translated into English, recorded the answers on the schedule, and turned it in to the assistant director each day. The schedules were checked each evening to ensure they were complete. Where information was missing, the interviewer was instructed to question the child again. Daily meetings were held to clarify any problems. In the only departure from the pattern carried from school to school, the former Rough Rock teacher and the male interviewer interviewed the students from the Chinle Public School. After examining all the interviews thoroughly and analyzing them in many ways in preparation for this report, we feel that the three Navaho interviewers were sensitive, conscientious, and resourceful.

To select our dorm personnel sample, we obtained lists of employees at each school. At Rough Rock, we planned to interview the total sample of 14 aides, 7 in each dorm, but because of delays in obtaining lists, staggered working hours, days off, and confusion in appointments, we were unable to interview the night attendant in the girls' dorm and 5 aides in the boys' dorm. The Dormitory Supervisor and the Dorm-Parent Coordinator were interviewed by the Director of the study and the Dorm-School Co-ordinator, and Assistant Cook, by the assistant director. The head of the boys' dorm, four male dorm aides, and a janitor were interviewed by the male interviewer, and the former Rough Rock teacher interviewed the head of the girls' dorm, the female aides, and a dorm parent, usually in Navaho. Excluding the three supervisors, and the cook, our sample of fourteen includes nine workers in the girls' dorm and five in the boys' dorm. Rock Point had a smaller staff, and we were able to interview all but two of the eight, one night and one day attendant. The Director of the study interviewed the Dorm Supervisor, and the Assistant Director interviewed the Anglo woman in charge of the girls' wing. The male interviewer interviewed all male dorm workers, a janitor, and the recreation director; the former teacher interviewed the female dorm aides, the head of the boys' wing, and the food service director. Including the Dorm Supervisor, our sample for Rock Point was twelve. The larger staff at Chinle (twenty-four aides and eight building supervisors) made it necessary to select 50% of the group. In order to get an equal representation of male and female and Navaho and Anglo, the assistant director arbitrarily selected from the list, one Navaho and one Anglo male from each of the boys' dorms, and one Navaho and one Anglo female from each of the girls' dorms, whom she interviewed. She also interviewed the Head of Boys' Guidance; this position for the girls was vacant. We have a stratified random sample of ten aides. They were grouped by building, and then two were randomly selected from each of the four buildings, and one additional aide from each of the little childrens' dorm. The male interviewer interviewed the three males and the former teacher, the seven females.

At all the schools there were more female than male employees, because women were used as aides for the little boys. Time schedules were arranged by the Assistant Director, and because of split working hours, aides were interviewed during the day and evening, in any quiet corner of the dorms at the three schools. The interview schedule was the same for all, with the exception of two questions inserted at Rough Rock concerning the use of the living area and Navaho story telling sessions in the dorm. The questions were open ended and each interview ran over one hour. We regret time did not permit more interviews with dorm parents at Rough Rock. Later in the chapter we discuss the characteristics of the dorm personnel in our sample, and the method of analysis of their responses.

We turn at this point to information about the dormitories obtained through the informal "live-in" described in chapter 1:

Physical Arrangements

The Rough Rock Demonstration School was housed in a modern facility built by the BIA and turned over to Dine, Inc., in 1966. The two dormitories, one for boys and one for girls, were designed to accommodate about 300 students. While the official enrollment of the school for the first quarter of 1968-69 was just over 400, the average daily attendance from September to January, 1969 was 342, and approximately 100 of these were day students. Each of the two wings in each dormitory had room for about 80 pupils. The wing for younger pupils housed the 6-through-11 year olds and the older pupils' wing, the 12-through-16 year olds. Wing space was divided into T-shaped corridors with cubicles on each side of each corridor, housing four pupils each. In October and November, 1968, seven cubicles in the older girls' wing were not used for pupils. One was reserved for a hair-styling beauty parlor which was to have been started in September 1968 but for some reason was not. Two were used by members of the study team and occasionally shared with visiting high school or college students. One cubicle at the end of the wing, equipped with a refrigerator, was reserved for night attendants. Two were reserved for dorm mothers. Another stood empty, and several of the cubicles had only three girls each assigned to them. In the little girls' wing, and in the boys' dormitory, every bed seemed occupied. Assignments to cubicles were made on the basis of age by the dorm supervisor, though some of the older pupils had a limited choice in room mates. Provision was sometimes made to allow brothers or sisters to room together.

Each dorm had two cathedral-like common rooms--a living room and a rumpus room. In the girls' dorm the rumpus room was partitioned. One half of the room was devoted to the Head Start class. The other half, for recreation, housed several athletic mats used for seats in front of the TV; some large wooden blocks, a storage unit behind folding doors; a well equipped pullman kitchen with stove, sink, refrigerator, and cabinets; and a small storage room which eventually became the office of the study team. There were windows near the vaulted ceiling, but most light came from overhead fixtures.

The living room in the Rough Rock girls' dormitory was huge, with floor-to-ceiling windows facing the compound, stainless steel light fixtures, and concrete-block walls painted a light green. The large wall area between the windows featured a mural of Navaho mother preparing a meal outdoors. The warm browns and reds of this and the other murals helped reduce the cavernous feeling of the room. A Navaho loom with half-finished rug looked incongruous with the other furniture, "airport modern" vintage. Other accoutrements were a small piano, an area rug in the center of the room, a conversational grouping of furniture, a bookshelf, some books, a set of encyclopedias, many empty shelves, and a closet with folding chairs. Even when used for meetings with 150 children and half-a-dozen aides, the room was only half filled.

The living room in the boys' dorm was about the same, except for the unusual feature of a half-hogan built against the inside wall. The boys' rumpus room was huge and bare, bare hoop at either end and a television set in front of about twenty assorted chairs. The room was occasionally used for classes.

Each dormitory at Rough Rock had two two-bedroom apartments for adult personnel, an arrangement no doubt intended to ensure that personnel were constantly present in case of emergency. Each dormitory had four isolation rooms for sick children, two in each wing, equipped with two hospital beds and attached bathrooms. Additional bunk beds could be, and were, put into the rooms when there were more than eight sick children at one time. A large linen and clothes storage room adjoining the laundry room was equipped with automatic washers and dryers. Unlike BIA schools, Rough Rock did its own laundry,partly to provide employment to local people. An electric sewing machine was available in each wing. A hand-laundry and ironing room, with tubs, ironing boards, and racks, was used constantly by the older girls. Ironing for the little girls was done by dorm mothers or aides. The several janitor closets, with mops, brooms, pails, cleaning supplies, and electric floor polishers, were busy places in the mornings at clean-up time.

The little girls' wing had a room labelled "Arts and Crafts Room," but during our stay it was never opened or used. Each wing had some twelve shower facilities, each with a curtained dressing area and shower stall. Across the hall were about ten toilet stalls with doors, and in a separate room, twelve wash stands and mirrors.

Basically, each 10-by-12-foot cubicle for pupils had two bunk beds, easily moveable, a round formica-and-chrome study table, four multi-colored fiberglass chairs, and a bookcase. Built into one wall were a dressing table area with six drawers, two mirrors separated by a bulletin board, two spacious closets with shelves, and light wood sliding doors. The arrangements were ample and spacious. Light came from one window, with draw drapes. At night an overhead fixture, study lamp, and dresser lights were controlled at a master switchbox. Nearby were wastebaskets, night lights in the halls, tables for clean laundry, and large wicker baskets for dirty laundry.

Many older girls had decorated their four-bed cubicles imaginatively. Several had hung elaborate velvet religious tapestries (Spanish-American pictures of the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, and other biblical scenes) on their walls. The bulletin boards featured pictures of family, friends, and boys. Most of the little girls' bulletin boards were bare, but occasionally a magazine picture or Sunday-school picture would brighten the wall. Several rooms featured tablecloths, statues of horses, Navaho rugs, and baskets. While the beds were double-sheeted, many girls preferred to sleep on top of the BIA spreads. It did save time in the morning. Each bed had a good heavy wool blanket. There was no front wall or door to the cubicles. They were open on the side next to the corridor. Every room on the big girls' side had a name, such as "The Palaminoes," "The Mustangs," "The Pirates," "The Cheyennes," "The Angels."

The bulletin boards in the common area were pleasantly decorated. The dorm aides seemed very conscious of their responsibility to keep them current. October featured Halloween, November, Thanksgiving, etc. Precautionary signs about walking (not running) and keeping various facilities clean were posted here and there. There were no decorations in the rumpus room or other large living areas.

The boys' dormitory at Rough Rock was similar to the girls' in many respects, though less colorful in decor. But virtually every cubicle had drawings taped to its walls. Among the objects pictured were a dancing sun god, a cartoon duck, a naked Indian carrying a canoe, a jumping dog, a ceremonial mask, a stylized buffalo, a stylized fox, an Indian brandishing a spear and riding a green horse, many monoliths, hogans, trees, corrals, several pictures of Popeye, a boy doing a high-jump, horse-drawn wagons, pick-up trucks, a jet fighter plane, cactus, cows, skeletons, army personnel, a woman weaving a Navaho rug, a child spinning wool, and a child playing with a lamb. The quality of the drawings was impressive generally and at times stunning. A great deal of humor was evident.

The physical plant in use at Rock Point was constructed in 1963. At the time of our study, several new buildings were standing unused that had been completed in the summer. BIA had taken possession of only one of the new buildings, an administration building with a large gymnasium-auditorium. Space was precious. Even an audio-visual storeroom had been converted to classroom use.

Some 274 pupils, including about 100 day pupils, were enrolled at Rock Point. The latter figure varied with the weather, for though Rock Point was on a paved road, snow, ice, and distance made it necessary for most students who lived a considerable distance from the paved highway to move into the dorm for periods of time.

Dormitory students ranged in age from six to 14. Boys and girls were housed under the same roof, but in wings separated by a living room, laundry, activity room, and other areas. Close relatives (brothers, cousins, young uncles, etc.), were placed together as much as possible, and the older children in these groupings were given responsibility for the younger ones, a practice adapted from Navaho culture itself.

Since the new dormitory was not yet available at Rock Point, the wings in the older building were crowded--filled with long rows of double-deck bunks divided into pairs by partial partitions. Between each set of two bunks, a small cupboard was attached to the wall to hold small personal possessions. The setting was far more crowded and institutional than Rough Rock's roomy cubicles. The living room at Rock Point, used by both boys and girls, was large, but divided by partitions and furniture groupings into areas just large enough to accommodate the activities that took place. It impressed us as the most home-like living area in the three dormitory schools. Two offices spaces opened off this room, a third was created by temporary partitions, and a small kitchen was available, with a pot of coffee constantly brewing for adults. A large bookshelf housed magazines and items made by the children. Long wooden tables in one area provided working space for arts and crafts. There were two television sets, one at the boys' end of the room and one at the girls'. Other prominent features were aquariums, stocked with fish, and two parakeets that had learned to squawk, "I live at Rock Point!" Linens were laundered commercially at Rock Point, but the aides washed the children's clothes and ironed the clothes for the little ones. In the storage room, the electric sewing machine was in constant use by an aide for mending and making clothes for the children. The girls' toilet stalls had doors. Unfortunately, each wing had only four showers, so that the bathing schedule had to be carefully planned and supervised.

At the large Chinle Boarding School, eight buildings were spaced about the compound--three academic buildings, four dormitories, and a dining hall. Until 1968-69, the enrollment had been 1,000 or more, but in September, 1968, the seventh and eighth grades were transferred to the Many Farms School, about 20 miles north. About 825 children were enrolled, ranging in age from 6 to 15. Unlike Rough Rock and Rock Point, the Chinle School compound was totally enclosed by a high wire-mesh fence. We were told, in explanation, that drunks, sexual deviates, and other trouble-makers often gravitated to the nearest boarding school. As the only town of any consequence, Chinle was the hell-raising center for that part of the reservation.

The physical plant at Chinle had been constructed only eight years earlier, but the workmanship was poor. The buildings looked at least twenty years old. The masonry was cracked in places, and the sidewalks were heaved, broken, and caving in. Facilities that were particularly needed in a large, fenced-in compound were completely lacking. There was no gymnasium, no auditorium, no multi-purpose room, not even an asphalt play area outside. During the winter, the side-walks were bad enough--covered with red mud, planked over, tilted toward huge puddles; but the surrounding areas were slimy, out of the question as areas of play.

The buildings were colorless, virtually indistinguishable from each other, fitted with windows that often would neither open nor close properly. The large dormitory wings, with their long rows of bunks and lockers, had a discouragingly institutional appearance, no matter what was done to decorate them.

Each of the four H-shaped dormitories at Chinle had four wings, two large and two "small." Each large wing housed about 70 pupils and each smaller wing, about 40 students. The two girls' dorms were on one side of the compound, the two boys' on the other. The little children's dorms housed the 6-to-10-year olds, the older student's dorms, the 11-to-15 year olds. Bed space was assigned by dorm supervisors on the basis of age. Siblings often were in separate buildings.

The pupils slept in double bunk beds, in sets of two separated by a partial partition, as at Rock Point, but in much longer wings. The lockers for personal possessions were arranged in long rows in the middle of the aisle in the larger wings, but against the opposite wall in the smaller wings. Light came from windows near the ceiling and from fixtures overhead. A table and chairs were provided for each section. Each wing had a small play space. There was one phonograph in each of the dormitories. The little girls' dorm had a box of toys. In December, 1968, each wing was provided with a Christmas tree, which the aides and the children decorated. In one of the older girls' wings, a mock fireplace had been constructed by the girls and the aides, and presents had been wrapped and put under the tree. The dorms were very clean, and attempts to decorate the walls with magazine cut-outs had been made. The large living area (the cross-bar of the H-shaped dorms) in each dorm was furnished with comfortable furniture and a TV set. The room had a warm atmosphere, though not to the extent that was evident at Rock Point. During the Christmas season, the aides and the children devised delightful ornaments from egg crates, tin cans, etc. The room was used for movies on weekends, Indian dances for the older children, chorus practice, rehearsal for programs, wrestling matches, checker games and club meetings and programs. In the vacant wings in the older girls' dorms, Indian dancers practiced or made costumes. In the boys' dorm the vacant wing was used in the evening as a craft room where beadwork, pot-holder making, and dances were learned. There were two apartments in each dorm, at the end of two wings, for dormitory personnel. The other two wings ended in "guidance" offices, and in one case, the office of the school nurse. Each wing had an isolation room for sick children. There were ample toilet and shower facilities, laundry, and ironing rooms in each wing.

Routinized Behavior

In any dormitory serving over a hundred pupils, a certain amount of routine is unavoidable. Pupils who wish to sleep must be able to do so, even if their companions prefer to roughhouse. Some order must be evolved for the taking of meals. For safety's sake, adult personnel must find out quickly if a child runs away when miles from home in sub-zero weather. But the amount of routine in some areas of dormitory life at Rough Rock came to us as a surprise. Children were arranged into double lines and escorted to classrooms and meals. The day was punctuated by bells. As our eleven-year-old observer reported in a letter to classmates:

> 'In the morning a bell rings at 6:00 to get up. At 7:00 a bell rings for roll call and breakfast. At 8:30 a bell rings to get to school. At 11:30, a bell rings to go back to the dorm to get fixed up for lunch. At 12:00 a bell rings for lunch (which) you get free and all the same thing. At 3:30 a bell rings to go to the dorm; at 6:00 one rings for dinner. At 9:00 all the girls go to bed. That's all I can think of now.

In the girls' dormitory, particularly, the sense of imposed order was further accentuated by commands shouted by dormitory aides: "Get up!" "Clean your rooms!" "Pick up your clothes!" "Hurry up!" "Line up for roll call" "Do your detail!" "Go to sleep!" Requests to hurry to the dining hall were particularly puzzling, for there were long waiting lines at almost every meal. Seemingly, there was no staggered schedule for meals. The entire student body seemed to report at the same time.

Laundry and cubicle cleaning was done before breakfast. When the older children came back to the dorm after breakfast, they were assigned to duties, such as sweeping halls and cleaning sinks. The six-to-eight-year-old pupils were responsible for their own cubicles and clothing, but other duties in their wings were performed by aides, dorm parents, and nine-and-ten-year-old girls. The pupils had about a half hour of free time at lunch. At 3:30, immediately after school, several went riding. Others had laundry chores to perform. It was at this time, for about an hour, when whatever homework was assigned had to be done, or when children had a chance to do some free reading, straighten their drawers, fix their hair, or talk. At about 4:30, the girls who acted as servers in the dining hall went over to prepare for dinner.

There was usually an activity somewhere in the school in the evenings, such as a basketball game or a cake sale or a movie in the gymnasium, and the older children often participated. Except for "Indian Club," Astronomy Club, and religious instruction classes on Thursday nights, no organized activities took place in the dormitories.

In the girls' dorm except when special activities ran past nine, the "lights out" time was rigidly enforced. We often returned to the girls' dorm just after nine to find all lights out and complete, almost incredible quiet. Frequently as we walked through the rumpus room to our little office, dorm employees and their families were watching TV, but on week nights the dormitory girls were in bed. The night aide circulated every hour and moved noiselessly through the wings. The only sound of children would come from the isolation rooms, separated from the wings by two sets of doors.

"Lights out" was also enforced in the small boys' dormitory wing, but whenever we checked the big boys' wing, there was noise long after pupils had officially gone to bed. To quote one observation directly:

> I walked through the wings at 9:55, 55 minutes after "lights out" for the bigger boys. In the big boys' wing, there was scattered talking almost everywhere. Several boys lay on their bunks, including top bunks, fully clothed and with their shoes on. While I was there, a dorm aide came with a flashlight, doing a head count. He could not have missed the talking, but he did nothing about it. As he approached, the fully clothed boys pulled sheets over themselves. Blue jeans and tennis shoes were plainly evident, but nothing was said about that either.

In each of the three schools, a standard set of clothing was provided from tribal funds to each child with a census number. At Rough Rock additional funds made it possible to provide all pupils with sleepwear. All girls had nightclothes and wore them. Only rarely did we see a boy in pyjamas. Most slept in their underwear, and many fully clothed, with even their shoes in place. When aides in the boys' dormitory were asked why night clothes were not used, they replied, enigmatically, that none of the pyjamas fit the boys.

Weekends at Rough Rock were a respite, for pupils remaining in the dorms, from weekday patterns. Rarely did more than 25 children remain in each dorm. The regular schedule was relaxed. Children moved informally from dormitory to dining hall. Roll call in the girls' dorm, normally taken three times a day, was taken only once on weekends. There were no formal meetings, or lectures from dorm personnel, and religious services on Saturday and Sunday were voluntary. Breakfast on Saturday and Sunday was at 8:00 a.m. In the free period that followed, some pupils went to the gym, others sat and chatted in the dorms, and occasionally some of the older girls were assigned to cleaning the dorm kitchen or mopping the floor in the large recreation room as an extra detail. After lunch, the girls' dorm head or one of the aides escorted the children to the trading post and treated them to a can of pop--a treasured commodity. The little ones clustered about the adults to hold a hand or a piece of clothing. It was a pleasant time. When they returned, the children could play outdoors or do what they liked until dinner. Sometimes the meal would include a treat, like Navaho fry bread or chocolate cake. Movies were shown in the school gym regularly on weekends, and children who went were accompanied by a dorm aide. On Friday and Saturday the older girls who enjoyed the favor of the dorm head were permitted to stay up late to watch TV. The little ones were put to bed about 9:00 p.m.

The only bell we were aware of at Rock Point rang at 6:30 each morning. Some of the female dorm aides shouted in the mornings, telling the children to "Get up!" and "Get dressed!" But after that time of day, children were spoken to softly, for the most part, in Navaho and English. The children swept the wing areas, cleaned their lockers and performed other cleaning assignments in the corridors and wings. We did not see students cleaning the living room or activity room. These duties were performed by the janitor and the aides. Though there were only five maintenance people for the entire compound, it impressed us as well maintained. Boys were given snow shoveling details at times and appeared to enjoy them. Breakfast started at 7:00 a.m. Meal times were staggered. One never saw long lines in the dining hall. There was no lining up or roll call. The children sat in the living room, watching the early cartoons on TV, until dorm aides told them to go over to the dining hall. They walked to meals and classrooms in informal groups of various sizes, unescorted. This informality caused no problems while we were at Rock Point. We saw no running, jostling, or "goofing off" while pupils were en route to classes or meals.

The BIA school day for teachers was 8 to 5. Children were in classrooms from 9 to 4. Since Rock Point teachers had requested additional time to work with small groups, a schedule was devised to give teachers a half-hour in the morning and a half-hour in the evening to work with smaller groups of students. The "Early Birds" left the dorm for class at 8:30 a.m. and returned to the dorm at 3:30 p.m. The "Owls" reported to class at 9:00 a.m., but stayed until 4:00. At lunchtime, the children returned to the dorm to get washed and then reported to the lunchroom in small groups.

After school the children returned to the dorm, where they watched TV or played in the wings. The day students were given a snack to take with them before they boarded the bus for home. Sometimes the children played outdoors or purchased candy, school supplies, and classic comics at the canteen located in the living room of the dorm. Candy purchases were controlled, and children were advised not to eat their goodies before dinner. Day students were able to take advantage of the canteen. Students could bank money in the dorm and withdraw it at will.

Dinner at Rock Point was over by 6 p.m. The dormitory "Free Flow" program, described later, began at about 6:30. After Free Flow, the children were given a bedtime snack (fruit, cookies, milk, popcorn, etc.) and prepared for bed. "Lights out" was at 9:00 p.m. The night aide walked through the wings frequently, and children who were not sleepy or "horsed around" were seated in the corridor of another wing--boys to the girls' wing and visa versa. They faced the wall and "contemplated their behavior" until sleepy enough to welcome bed. Sometimes, after 10 p.m., several of the older girls, a group of about 5, would chat with members of the study team working late in the living room. Often the principal or dorm supervisor would drop in after hours to see if all was well or to chat with the night attendant. The night attendants, when not checking on the children would work on records or the laundry. During afternoons, several aides were observed looking through catalogs and chatting in Navaho. The recreation director was working with them. The dorm supervisor explained that this was planning time for the various activities of the nightly free flow programs; they were responsible for planning the activities and ordering the supplies. However, he did not know how long this planning time could be provided, because of pending BIA personnel cutbacks.

We would have to characterize the Chinle Boarding School as the most thoroughly routinized dormitory school in our study. We saw numerous activities which, if considered in isolation, at least, might dismay many observers. The children were lined up and escorted to the dining hall in the morning in groups of thirty or forty at intervals of five minutes or so. While one group was proceeding through the "chow line," the next group was in the parking lot, being put through calisthenics by a dorm aide, and a third group was on its way. The kitchen and dining hall were run with precision and a no-nonsense attitude. The children picked up their food, moved to tables graduated in size, were seated in boy-girl-boy-girl fashion, ate their meals with little conversation, scooped the residue off their plates, deposited their utensils in the indicated slots, and returned to the dormitory. As each group left, the tables were wiped off in preparation for the next group.

In the dormitories, seemingly endless hours were spent in cleaning-up activities. Part of this emphasis was warranted by the ubiquitous red mud that tracked in, but much of it was apparently devised to keep the children busy, in the absence of any sizeable recreational area and an adequate staff to plan activities.

Months later, our predominant memory of the Chinle dormitories is an activity we dubbed "the Chinle Crawl." Children were given strips of old blanket about a foot wide, which they rolled together tightly, producing a wide wad about four inches thick. They then polished the floor of the dormitory, using the wad of blanket and an amazing variety of techniques. They would kneel, rub the floor with the wad, and gradually work along the length of the wing. They would arch their backs, put much of their weight, through stiffened arms, onto the wads, and push rapidly ahead with their legs, racing each other from end to end of the wings, laughing gleefully. They would kneel on the wad and shuffle about, seeming, incredibly, to enjoy the humor of the position. As other activities, they were repetitiously moving furniture, mopping behind it, replacing it, dusting the tops of lockers, washing bed rails, and once again doing the Chinle Crawl, the human substitution for Rough Rock's motorized floor polishers.

One major difference between Chinle and the other schools was that interminable dorm cleaning seemed to take the place of recreational activities that require a gymnasium, auditorium, multi-purpose room, or usable outdoor recreational area. Otherwise, pupils were scheduled for similar activities, but moved from place to place with greater regimentation. Since we had heard in advance that Chinle placed stress on routine, we may have expected to encounter signs of pupil withdrawal and anxiety. Our most surprising impression at Chinle was that the pupils were not anxious, unhappy, and withdrawn in comparison with their compeers at Rough Rock and Rock Point. In chapter seven, we will present evidence gathered more systematically on this point.

Disciplinary Methods

How were pupils inspired, motivated, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the guidelines, routinized or not, that the three schools had established? At Rough Rock, most personnel believed that physical punishment of pupils was officially forbidden, but beyond this restriction (not always observed) there seemed to be no consistent approach to discipline. Since this is a sensitive issue, we will quote verbatim thirteen of our first-hand observations:

> (1) Because some of the girls left the movie without the permission of the aide who accompanied them, the dorm head became quite angry. They were all punished, all the older girls were punished by being sent to bed early.
>
> (2) I thought the girls were remarkably well behaved--almost 150 strong in the living room. There was some squirming amongthe little ones, some little whispering among the older ones, but nothing disturbing. However, after the speeches, the dorm head scolded them for not being quiet and not paying more careful attention. She then asked them if they wanted to go to bed early, and the answer was a loud emphatic "NO!!"
>
> (3) Seven of the little girls with whom I am quite friendly came in to tape record. We have been doing this for about a week. . . . After dinner . . . we would spend about an hour tape recording and playing back their voices, . . . just fooling around to get them used to the idea of a mike. . . .

This was nothing new. . . One of the dorm aides, came by and asked them to leave. . . One or two did, . . . but the rest stayed. . . . About five minutes later one of the dorm mothers, . . . who lines the little ones up in the morning and really shoves them around, came to the door. She began shooing them out--scolding them in Navaho. . . Anyhow, the little ones really scooted when she got after them. She pushed the last one out and slammed the door. . . . Later a few of the braver ones came back. . . . The dorm head came in and sent the little ones to bed at 6:45 (usual bed time is 8). The older ones were sent to their rooms.

(4) (Weekend, small group of girls enjoying cake and punch ordered by dorm head as treat, not in celebration of one of the girl's birthday.) However, the Anglo visitor had believed Cecelia when she said that this was her birthday party, and had given her a present. . . . Five girls and the dorm head were lying on the floor watching TV, and Cecelia and several of the other girls were at the back of the rumpus room joking and laughing about the joke they had played (on the visitor). . . Several times the dorm head shouted to the girls at the back of the room to be quiet. . . . Then about 9:30 p.m., when they got somewhat noisy again, she sent Cecelia to bed, no one else, although several other girls were making as much, if not more, noise than Cecelia. Unhappily, the birthday girl went to bed while the others were allowed to stay up until 10:30.

(5) (Interview with dorm-school coordinator). She suggested. . . that some form of equitable duty schedule and punishment duty schedule could be devised for the boys' dorm. . . . Something had to be done about . . . the canteen. Notices were put in the dorms that if behavior at the canteen did not improve, it would be closed. The notices were ignored, behavior was the same. So _________ closed the canteen for about a week and a half. The students were surprised that this was done, for no one had ever followed through on something like this before. When it opened, behavior improved, and "the next time it gets bad, and I'll close it again." . . . "The problem is that the staff does not follow up, they don't set standards for behavior of the children, and in the past, no one ever disciplined them or made them take some responsibility. When someone tried, the kid would run to the former director and he would, . . . well, let it go. . . ."

(6) (Conversations in boys' dorm)
Q. Why do more people speak English here than at the other schools?
A. "Here they want you to talk in English."
Q. Who?
A. "Paul,". . . [head of boys' dorm]
Q. What happens if Paul hears you talk in Navaho?
A. "You're put on a list, if some where the rodeo, football team, basketball, you can't go."
Q. How many times do you have to be on the list before you can't go?
A. "I don't know."
Q. Has anyone been stopped from going?
A. "No, that is what they say."
. . . .
Q. What happens if Paul catches you speaking Navaho?
A. "He'll get mad at you and makes you work."
Q. Do you have any runaways here?
A. "Sometimes."
Q. What happens when you run away from here?
A. "They make you sweep."

(7) (Conversation with Phase II Anglo teacher who speaks Navaho)
_________ mentioned to me that one or more parents have been upset, one to the point of pulling her child out of school, because the head of the girls' dorm had sworn at the child, and had used a word that is reserved only

for female dogs. She felt that the dorm head did not have the right nor was this proper conduct for someone in an educational institution.

(8) I came into the dormitory at ten minutes to seven and decided to simply walk through the wings. As I moved into the small boys' wing, I noticed that the boys were lined up in two long lines, standing close together at attention, and that somebody was talking. As I moved closer, I realized that they were being subjected to a long, loud lecture by a young dorm aide. Two of the boys, I then noticed, were standing on one leg with their forehead against the wall. The lecture went on and on and on in English and in Navaho with less and less English and more and more Navaho as I remained. He lectured them about folding their towels, turning in their dirty underwear, keeping their rooms clean. He threatened to take away their privileges if they didn't. He threatened to stop having people come in to clean their dorms if they didn't cooperate more. He asked them if they wanted to lose the privilege of going to basketball games and canteens and what not. He told them the dorm parents were just like their own parents at home, that they should respect them. I remained there until seven-thirty, at which time the Dorm Aide stopped his lecture and moved away. I asked him what he was doing, and he said that he was telling the boys that they should look after their rooms and so on. I asked him if they had been giving him trouble, and he said well, yes, they had been kind of running in the halls and writing on the walls and milling around and so forth, and that this was to make them behave better. I asked him where he learned to do this, and he said that he had worked in this dorm off and on for two years and that they had always done this. Some person had told them it was a good idea to talk to the children once in a while and explain to them what they should do. He volunteered that Wednesday night, which was bath night, was the night on which they did this. I said, "Do you do this every Wednesday night?" and he indicated that he did. I asked him when he started tonight, and he said six-thirty. I observed that he had carried this on for an hour, and he said yes, that was so. I found, to my surprise, after I talked with the young man, that the little boys had not been released. As I walked by on the outside, I looked in and discovered that they were standing there and that someone new had taken over the lecture--a dorm parent. I don't know how long this may go on. I'll check as I go to an interview in a few minutes at eight o'clock. The little boys were shifting from foot to foot, from foot to foot, from foot to foot. The two boys who stood on one foot with their forehead against the wall were released at seven-thirty and allowed to go back into the line. As I looked in from outside, I saw various boys sneaking away from time to time to rest on the bed. I saw Dorm Aides and Parents running to get them and pushing them back into line and making them stand at attention.

(9) (Conversation with boys' dorm aide) The dorm aide said he paddled a boy who was bigger than him because he tried to fight him. He thinks any other dorm aide would have done the same.

(10) __________ was watching some little girls playing inventively in the area of the swings. Suddenly they scattered like frightened quail. Looking for the reason, __________ saw a dorm mother approaching. Looking more closely, __________ discovered that the dorm mother was holding a hefty stick close to her side, partly hidden in the folds of her dress.

(11) Saw __________, janitor, hit a boy over the back of the head with a fist today.

(12) There is a great deal of running and jostling. The dorm parent asks the boys to stop, but he is mild mannered and they pay absolutely no attention to him. The running is, if anything, intensifying.

> (13) In full view of the dorm parent, one child knocked over the tooth brush rack for the children in the entire wing. Tooth brushes fell by the dozen onto the floor. Nothing was done. . . the brushes were still on the hallway floor when I left.

We encountered a great many complaints concerning the lack of disciplinary policy in interviews and in school documents. For instance, in the school's monthly report for October, 1968, the dormitory-parent coordinator stated:

> On the red side of the ledger, we still have the problem of keeping Dorm Parents from herding their group with a stick or a rope. This kind of control may bring immediate results, but it also brings criticism which I do not think our school would like from a visitor-observer. This again points out my former recommendation that in choosing Dorm Parents there should be consideration given for people with concern for children and ability to control large groups in much the same age level and the same sex. This is a lot different from handling children in a family situation.

At Rock Point, where the Engelman-Bereiter "Marine-Corps" approach to instruction was mentioned by virtually every adult we interviewed, two basic concepts were both verbalized by staff members and examplified repeatedly in their behavior: First, pupil behavior that violated clear guidelines should be countered with prompt, decisive action. Second, pupils should be held responsible more and more for the ends of their behavior but should be required more and more to choose for themselves how to achieve acceptable ends. Policies relating to movement around the compound were a case in point. Several personnel at Rock Point described efforts that had been made, at several points, to transfer to pupils responsibility for getting to meals, classes, and other activities. Guidelines were established. Pupils were not to run on the sidewalks or push each other. They would lose privileges if they misbehaved en route or failed to arrive on time, but the principal would not, he insisted, have them lined up and escorted here and there. As we mentioned earlier, the school seemed to have succeeded, at least in this specific area. When members of the study team violated the guidelines by running on the sidewalks or taking shortcuts across piles of snow, childish voices would shout, with evident humor, "Don't run or you'll hurt somebody!" "Stay on the walk!"

Key personnel at Rock Point expressed disappointment concerning efforts to develop internalized discipline in other areas, reporting that, in a disconcerting number of incidents, children would explain misbehavior by merely observing, "Nobody was looking." Anthropologists describe Navaho culture as a shame culture.

To justify misbehavior by a "No one saw me" is consistent with such a culture, but the attitude at Rock Point was that the children knew, for the most part, how to behave as Navahos. The school must show them how to fit acceptably into the Anglo world as well.

At Chinle Boarding, a Skinnerian "Behavioral Modification Program" had recently been introduced into the dormitories (and one "problem" classroom)--in an effort, according to key administrators, to reward pupils for desirable behavior rather than to punish them for undesirable behavior. Many Chinle personnel reported that the emotional tone of the dormitories had improved since "Behavior Mod" was started and that pupils were better behaved. Pupils were given a stated number of points for adequate bed-making, cubicle cleaning, and duty detail execution; for proper behavior in the dining room, for speaking English in the dormitory, for brushing their teeth, washing their faces, polishing their shoes, and grooming themselves neatly in other particulars; for washing socks at night; and for returning on time from visits to their homes. These points could be "cashed in" for such privileges as watching television, having parties, getting treats from the candy machine, going to the student store, going to the trading post, playing games, attending movies, and going on hikes and special trips. Each pupil's points were punched onto a card attached to the foot of his bed. The mechanistic nature of this system of discipline was deplored by many people, particularly outsiders. We have serious reservations ourselves in this regard. We must report, however, that we encountered none of the verbal and physical attacks in the Chinle dorms that we saw occasionally in the classroom buildings. As one instance, we observed a teacher in a hallway beating a child around the head with a yardstick, simultaneously screaming at him, while an assistant principal watched impassively. (BIA has a firm policy against corporal punishment.) Several teachers said occurences of that type were not unusual at Chinle. The pupil washrooms were defaced in the classroom buildings, but not in the dormitories. It was our impression that the pupils exhibited less anxiety and hostility in the dormitories and dining hall than in the classrooms.

Organized Recreation

As we mentioned earlier, with the exception of the Indian Dance Club and Astronomy Club, there were no organized recreational activities in the Rough Rock dormitories. The girls seemed unbothered by the lack of recreational activities, but on numerous occasions in the boys' dormitory we noted "staring into space" and apparently random, purposeless activity, devoid of any evident enjoyment or enthusiasm. On many occasions we observed boys milling around one end of the recreation room for extended periods of time, tossing small balls toward the basketball hoop or listlessly jostling to and fro while four or five dorm aides and house parents watched television at the other end of the room. We saw no evidence of 4-H activities, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, or any other clubs sponsored by the dorms or their personnel. If the Rough Rock faculty members sponsored these activities, we were unaware of any meetings, projects, or programs during our stay.

While we were at Rough Rock, the dorms undertook one joint activity over the Armistice Day weekend--a picnic to Many Farms Lake for about thirty children left in the dorms. Aside from walks to the trading post on Saturday, booths at a school carnival, and an aborted hike to the top of the Mesa, the dormitory personnel had no other recreational activities to offer. On the weekends, movies were shown in the school building by a member of the faculty, weekend and evening gym periods were supervised by a faculty member, and there was no evidence of dorm-sponsored special interest clubs or activities. The astronomy club which met outdoors, and the Indian Dance Club, which met in the girls' dorm, did not include in their initiation, planning or execution any dorm supervisors or aides.

After reading many reports that the telling of Navaho tales in the dormitories was a major feature of life at Rough Rock, we were surprised to discover that this occurred only once, in one of the dormitories, so far as we could determine, during more than two months while we were gathering data. When we asked the "dormitory-parent coordinator," he explained that he was responsible to see that stories were told in the dormitories, but, partly because he could not speak Navaho himself, he had been unable to persuade the dormitory parents to do so. His title was a misnomer, he complained, for he had never been able to function in that capacity. Nobody had given him a job description, oral or written, no one had asked about his work, no one had responded to his many suggestions for improvements in the dormitory. In an effort to earn his pay, he had concentrated on two functions: conducting the Indian Dance Club once each week and looking after the school corral. He felt guilty when he collected his paycheck and wished he had a job he could do. He said his inquiries about the previous year produced information to the effect that Navaho stories had been told once or twice. The sessions had been compulsory. All the children in a dormitory were gathered together for the same session, regardless of their age. Many children had been unable to hear; some who could hear said they were bored; and the effort fizzled. We became somewhat skeptical concerning the Navaho story-telling arrangements when we encountered in the school board minutes a discussion concerning the need to find story-tellers immediately because some senators were coming for a visit.

In the second questionnaire for instructional personnel, discussed in detail in chapter 6, we asked, (in January, 1969), "Since September 1, 1968, have you had personal knowledge of the scheduled telling of stories or fables anywhere on the compound? If so, where has this occurred?" (see Table 4.2) Three Rough Rock teachers and aides out of 24 (13 per cent) said story telling was occurring in the dormitories, as compared with 29 per cent of instructional personnel at Rock Point.

In interviewing dormitory personnel we asked, "Why have there been no story-telling sessions lately?" One explained that the girls had not shown an interest in the stories last year. Other responses included the following:

Table 4.2 Responses of Instructional Personnel in January, 1969, to the Question: "Since September 1, 1968, Have You Had Personal Knowledge of the Scheduled Telling of Stories or Fables Anywhere on the Compound? . . . If so, Where Has This Occurred?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			
School	Yes - In Dormitories at least in Part (N)	Yes - Though Not in Dormitories (N)	No (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	8.4 (3)	25.0 (9)	66.7 (24)	100.0 (36)
Rough Rock	12.5 (3)	25.0 (6)	62.5 (15)	100.0 (24)
Rock Point	29.4 (5)	11.8 (2)	58.8 (10)	100.0 (17)

(1) Last week, Dillon asked me to make arrangements to have one dorm parent tell stories. We haven't had story telling but once this year. The girls like it, but there's no one to tell stories. We have two dorm parents who I hardly see talking to kids. I don't think they know what they're supposed to do.

(2) The story tellers tell us, "only if they're paid." Maybe they don't offer any more money to the story tellers. Maybe that's why no one tells us now.

(3) I tell the Dorm Parents, I've asked the dorm parents to do such, but the dorm parents won't talk. They look at each other, but won't talk.

The living rooms in both Rough Rock dormitories, somewhat cavernous, but nevertheless the most homelike general areas available, were out of bounds to pupils most of the time. In response to inquiries in this regard, dormitory personnel explained that the pupils "messed thing up," and "tore up the books," etc. Both dorm heads and several aides said the living rooms should be reserved for "visiting" and "visitors."

The most encouraging dormitory activity program that we encountered was at Rock Point--the "Free Flow" program that ran from 6:30 or 6:45 to 8:15 on three or four evenings of the school week. The basic idea behind the program was that activities should be structured and well planned by adults but the decisions of pupils should not. A surprising number of options were available. On an apparently typical evening, we saw eight pupils making colorful caterpillars from egg crates, thirty-eight working on copper plaques, seven playing checkers or watching, two drawing lines from dot to dot in a coloring book, two watching television, nineteen playing dodge-ball or some similar game in the activity room, one sitting by herself, drawing carefully on a large sheet of paper, twelve constructing fish out of cardboard and drinking straws, one sitting near a craft group but reading a book, eleven making feathered headbands out of construction paper, four framing pictures with construction paper and string, twleve decorating paper bags with construction paper, two painting at easels, and seven making pot-holders. Nearly all activity groups were supervised by adults. At 7:30, the school's TESL specialist came to the dormitory to read a story. Her arrival was announced, and pupils who wished to listen found their way, individually, to the appropriate room. None of the activities was mandatory, and pupils could shift from one to another at any time.

Pupils could participate if they chose, or could simply loaf, talk, or go to bed. In addition to regular dormitory personnel, the program was staffed to some extent by "moonlighters," paid under the school's USOE grant.

There was a firm understanding at Rock Point, furthermore, that every teacher would assume responsibility for some extra-curricular activity for pupils. So far as we could determine, all teachers complied. A trophy case in the dorm at Rock Point displayed a series of awards for 4-H activities, and we accompained the Girl Scout Troop and faculty sponsors to a Chinle Little Theater performance at Many Farms during our study.

The dorm aides and supervisors at Chinle Boarding School sponsored 4-H programs, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and Brownies. The Girl Scout Troop at Chinle and its advisors were presented an award by Parents Magazine in January, 1969, for community service during the severe snow storm the previous winter. Other clubs sponsored by the Chinle dorms provided activities concerned with Indian dances, square dancing, home economics, tracking, and arrow making. We observed organized wrestling, and crafts activities as well. The following passages from our notes are typical:

> (1) Tonight_____ and I came through the boys' dorm farthest north. Boys were wrestling on a mat in the living area with an Anglo man coaching them. Quite a few boys gathered around--group about 11-13 years old. Boys wrestling fiercely, very tough. Never gave an indication of pain.
>
> (2) For the last few nights, an aide, older girls, and __________ have been busily sewing costumes for the Navaho Nativity program which has been written, produced, and directed by the dorm aide staff. Children and aides from boys' and girls' dorms will participate. We saw a rehearsal of the program and the only Anglo in sight was __________ at the piano. It is an all Navaho production and I'm looking forward to seeing it. The kids and the aides seem to enjoy the costume construction.
>
> (3) Came through to a wing where a very motherly Navaho woman sat with about 10 boys around her. Two boys were drawing--extremely well. She was cutting out pictures to use in guidance classes on cleanliness, etc. A record player was playing Western music. . . She said the aides have Navaho legends and dances on tape, but the school has no tape recorder on which to play them. She used to carry her own tape recorder but it got to be too much. She complained that it was no wonder the boys got restless--no gym, etc. Showed me a list of 58 boys she was responsible for single-handedly. She said the aides could really do a good job if they were not so inundated by numbers. Said she hated to herd the boys around and shout at them rather than speaking softly, but had no choice with so many.

The Director of the older girls' dorm also directed the dorm choir and, from time to time, groups like the Abby Singers, and the Phoenix Symphony would present programs for the children. On weekends, movies were shown in one dorm while parties were held in the other dorms. Parties for the older children featured records, dancing, and refreshments, for the younger ones, games and a treat. Children might spend some of their accumulated points on either of the activities.

There was much free time on Saturday, and TV, games, and visiting were popular. On the long holiday weekends, special activities were planned, like picnics and trips to the trading post. Dorm personnel seemed concerned about getting the children home for holidays and made arrangements to transport those whose parents could not call for them to a point where a relative might pick them up and take them home.

Adult-Child Relationships

There is no doubt that the staffing of the Rough Rock dorms was adequate to support much more intensive adult-child relationships than were possible at Rock Point and Chinle. According to figures presented at a meeting of the Chinle Guidance Curriculum Committee on December 10, 1968, of the 20,702 students in the Navaho area, 3,389 students were in boarding schools in the Chinle Agency. The BIA requires 24 hour coverage of its dorms, and based on a formula which compensates for the five day, 40 hour week, and decreased night time covereage, the ratio of aides to students for the Chinle Agency was 73.24 children to every aide. Using their formula[1], Chinle Boarding School, with about 825 students and 24 aides, had a ratio of 50 children to every aide, Rock Point, with about 175 boarding students and 8 aides and the recreational director, had a ratio of 30 children to every aide. Rough Rock, with a dorm population of about 250[2] and 14 aides and 9 dorm parents, had a ratio of 15 children to every adult functioning as a dorm aide.

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[1] Figures on employee and student absenteeism were not available to us at any of the schools; therefore, the ratios for the schools do not reflect this variable. It is our impression that employee absenteeism was greatest at Chinle, and the working ratio was probably closer to 60 to 1.

[2] This figure is based on attendance reports for November 8th and 21st, 1968, from the dorms.

The dorm heads, and the Guidance Director at Rock Point were in he dorms all day, and occasionally, in the absence of the night attendant, all night. The dorm heads participated in the free flow program, and most of their time was spent with the children. This was true of most of the supervisory personnel at Chinle, too. During our stay at Rough Rock, there was no report from our observers of the director of the school visiting the dorms. We saw the dormitory director in the girls' dorm twice, and according to the aides in the boys' dorm, he spent little time there, rarely appearing before 10 a.m. and seldom coming in the evenings. The girls' dorm head and aides seldom went into the wings just to be with the children.

We must not leave the impression that children at Rough Rock were not getting more attention from dorm personnel than in a typical BIA school. In the girls' dormitory, aides spent a good deal of time helping the younger pupils with hair-does and other grooming, and five older girls spent much time around the office, talking and passing the time with the aides. These activities would be virtually impossible to provide at Chinle. But in the boys' dorm, adult personnel were seldom working casually with the children. Even the supervision of housekeeping chores was often turned over to informal leaders among the boys. A great deal of staff time was spent watching television while the boys fended for themselves. And in neither dorm was there much warm contact between children and dormitory parents. The pupils seemed for the most part to ignore them, perhaps because they seemed like extra aides, though with lower pay and little to do. Furthermore, they disappeared each eight weeks and were replaced by a new set of parents. The dorm parents in the boys' dorm seemed particularly unused. Our predominant memory of them there is that they walked around anxiously, as if they felt they should be doing something, but didn't know what.

At Rock Point each child at least had opportunity, once each night, to engage in some enjoyable activity with an adult, often in a very small group. We do not know what was the psychological impact of the experience. We did feel that the aides at Rock Point were more relaxed and immediate in interacting with children than were the aides or dormitory parents at Rough Rock. The following instances from our notes, for example, have no parallel in our Rough Rock observations:

> (1) . . . for the first time I noted one of the male dorm aides physically touching his boys. It was the first expressive motion that I had seen thus far. The boys seemed to enjoy this and he, in return, appeared to be enjoying himself.
>
> (2) Poor little Marie is crying. She fell on the steps. Mrs. ______ went to her, picked her up and caressed her.
>
> (3) Little time when pupils not involved in something with the aides, so rather difficult for me to strike up acquaintances.

We felt that dormitory people at Chinle were trying hard, but in the light of the number of children for the size of the staff, it is difficult to see how most pupils would have a chance to develop significant relationships with any adult at the school to compensate for the deprivation of parental attention. Many of these children returned home only once or twice during the entire school year.

Dormitory-Classroom Coordination

As compared with Rock Point and Chinle, Rough Rock apparently had the odds in its favor in attempting to coordinate the activities of dormitories and classrooms. Teachers had a shorter school day and consequently might be more willing to engage in extra-curricular activities in the dormitories. There were plenty of dorm people available to attend faculty meeting. Rough Rock had ample staff available to plan liaisons between the two branches of the school. In fact, one former teacher received a salary from the Donner Foundation as full-time dormitory-school coordinator. When we visited her office, we discovered she had no significant records, either from the dormitories or from the classrooms, concerning pupils in the school. Much like the dormitory-parent coordinator, she reported that she had tried to do her appointed job, had found it impossible, and was no longer pretending to be a coordinator. She had been given no job description, no guidance, no response to repeated requests for information and help. Instead of "coordinating," as she was paid to do, she was putting together descriptions of pupils for an organization called Futures for Children in an effort to obtain funds for needy children at the school.

During the weeks we spent at Rough Rock, we saw one teacher in the dormitory for the Indian Dance Club, four for the Astronomy Club, two who had come to register complaints, and one who wanted to visit the little girls on a lonely Friday night.

In an effort to explore this important area further, we inserted some pertinent questions into interviews with dormitory personnel and questionnaires submitted to teachers.

We asked dormitory personnel, for example, "What do you think goes on in the classroom?" (Table 4.3) The percentage of "I don't know" responses was 31.5 at Rough Rock, as compared with 21.04 per cent at Chinle and 15.79 per cent at Rock Point. We then asked dormitory personnel, "Have you visited any of the classrooms and observed the teachers?" At Chinle, 71.40 per cent said "Yes," as compared with 35.70 at Rough Rock and 25.00 per cent at Rock Point (Table 4.4). In responding to the question, "Have any of the teachers ever visited the dorms?" 100 per cent of Rock Point respondents responded positively, as compared with 35.7 per cent at Rough Rock and Chinle. (Table 4.5).

In our structured interviews with teachers we asked the question: "Do you feel you are adequately informed about what happens to your pupils in the dormitory?" (The nature of these interviews is discussed in detail in chapter 6.) Of those who were

Table 4.3 Responses of Dormitory Aides to Question: "What Goes on in the Classroom?"

Response Category	Per Cent of Responses at Rough Rock (N)	 Rock Point (N)	 Chinle (N)	 Total (N)
I don't know	31.6 (6)	15.8 (3)	21.0 (4)	22.8 (13)
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic	21.1 (4)	31.6 (6)	26.3 (5)	26.3 (15)
Discipline and Manner	15.8 (3)	15.8 (3)	-0-	10.5 (6)
TESL or Navaho Language	15.8 (3)	21.1 (4)	15.8 (3)	17.5 (10)
Other Things (Art, Science,	-0-	10.5 (2)	36.9 (7)	15.8 (9)
Nothing goes on	15.8 (3)	5.3 (1)	-0-	7.1 (4)
Total responses	100.0 (19)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (57)

asked the above-indicated question, four out of five Rock Point teachers indicated satisfaction. At Rough Rock, twelve out of thirteen teachers offered negative comments, or indicated a lack of knowledge of the dorms. Since the issue is an important one, we include their responses verbatim as recorded in our notes:

> 1. Oh no, not at all. We have the machinery, but it doesn't function. The coordinator feels the teachers haven't been responsive. We feel she should be more involved in what we are doing.

Table 4.4 Responses of Dormitory Aides to Question: "Have You Visited the Classrooms and Observed the Teachers?"

Response Category	Per Cent of Responses at			
	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Chinle (N)	Total (N)
Yes	35.7 (5)	25.0 (3)	71.4 (10)	45.0 (18)
No	50.0 (7)	58.4 (7)	14.3 (2)	40.0 (16)
Before- Not this year	14.3 (2)	16.6 (2)	14.3 (2)	5.0 (6)
Total Responses	100.0 (14)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (40)

Table 4.5 Responses of Dormitory Aides to Question: "Have Any of the Teachers ever Visited the Dorms?"

Response Category	Per Cent of Responses at			
	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Chinle (N)	Total (N)
Yes	35.7 (5)	100.0 (12)	35.7 (5)	55.0 (22)
No	64.3 (9)	-0-	64.3 (9)	45.0 (18)
Total Responses	100.0 (14)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (40)

2. No, and some of it's really my fault. I was asked to fill out a form for three boys in my room for a scholarship for needy children and they asked things about special problems, and I though, well, I really don't know. I've only been around them in the classroom situation, where I couldn't really tell in the dorm how they seem in the dorm. [Are there times when dorm people meet with classroom people?] No, and I would like to see that, because there's supposed to be dormitory-school coordination, that's what I was talking about before, and there just isn't that much, and they have a very, very well-qualified person, I think, and she's really not being used as she could be. . . . She really has some good ideas, but they've never been used.

3. This is a problem. I know generally from experience. What goes on I am not generally informed Most stuff never even gets to [dormitory services head] or even to [head of girls' dorm]. I wish we didn't have the dorm--though we would put a hardship for some families. Use the money to give community an economy.

4. No, I never hear anything about what happens to the kids when they are in the dorm, unless I go and make specifically a point and ask. Like the other day, the same two sisters that I was talking about before, one of them was there and the other wasn't on Monday and I knew that they hadn't gone home, and I couldn't figure out what was wrong. So, I asked one of them where her sister was. And she said, "Well, she's sick." And so I said "Well," and let it go. But at noon, she came with this fantastic story that a helicopter had come and taken her sister to Albuquerque. And, I thought, Oh my gosh, what's the matter with this kid? I thought, is she dying or something? I couldn't figure out what was wrong, so I went down to the office and I asked the secretary what had happened with the little girl and she knew nothing about it. So she called the dorm and was told, we took her to Chinle to be checked. But as far as I know her sister could have been telling the truth. Afterwards, I talked to her sister and I said, How come you told me such a story? And she said, "Oh, I was just teasing you." But you know, we never hear at all.

5. No. Really, we do have a dorm school coordinator, but I don't really know.

6. No. Hears a few things indirectly, through community people or pupils.

7. No. At times I wonder where such and such a person is and they don't tell me, not even in the office. All I do is send my absentee report in, and no answer.

8. No. __________ sent around a dittoed sheet. The questions were too general. Word was out that we would have to go up there every night and be tutors--too vague. They all need help in every area.

9. No. Go up there to find out. Having a coordinator doesn't do a thing.

10. No, not quite. Don't even know the whole dorm. People from dorm should be at our meetings,

11. I don't have any dorm children.

12. No. Mainly, it is my job to go up and see what happens there. Haven't been up in two weeks. Not happy with dorm situation. Kids have too much idle time to sit and vegetate. Dorm people might pick up some good ideas from BIA, if properly applied might be useful here.

> 13. Yeah, some of them. There doesn't seem to be a very good rapport between the teachers and the dormitory. Probably its because it has something to do with the teachers, probably we should be getting up to the dorm a lot more. I taught in the dorm last year. Very unsuccessful. There wasn't any kind of cooperation between the school and the dormitory.

It should be noted that many staff members at Rough Rock indicated that the girls' dormitory was much better last year, both in this respect and in numerous other particulars, though the boys' dormitory was reportedly much worse. During 1967-68, the girls' dormitory was in charge of a VISTA who, it is said, was universally admired at Rough Rock. It is widely reported that her rapport with the children was remarkable. She sponsored open houses in the dormitory for faculty members.

As we noted earlier, Rock Point brought teachers into the dorm by involving them in club sponsorship, story telling, etc. Chinle established a visitation schedule to ensure that dorm aides would observe the children in the classrooms, and 71.40 per cent of the aides reported doing so in the first three months of 1968-69 (Table 4.4). However, BIA schools do not permit teachers to eat with students in the dining hall, and the Chinle faculty was seen in the dorms only on formal occasions and for special affairs at Chinle. (Scout investitures, holiday teas, rehearsals for programs, etc.). Further, the long school day, 8 to 5, might discourage teachers and administrators from assuming any extra duties (though it apparently did not at Rock Point.)

Quality of Child Care

In considering the quality of child care in the three dormitory schools, we are concerned primarily with provisions for the health and safety of pupils, but we will also consider whether the dormitories were facilitating effective instruction by helping ensure that pupils attended classes regularly and promptly.

Since the food served in all three dormitory schools was supplied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in terms of a menu devised by a BIA nutritionist, we cannot compare the schools on this dimension. It was the uniform impression of the members of our team that meals in all three schools were surprisingly ample and well balanced, though monotonous. We concur with the opinion of several kitchen personnel interviewed--that much more variety could be introduced without materially increasing the costs.

After inspecting the kitchens and dining rooms in the three schools on numerous occasions, we have no hesitation in stating that the standard of cleanliness was markedly higher in Rock Point and Chinle than it was at Rough Rock. In contrast to Rock Point and Chinle, dining tables at Rough Rock were rarely wiped when one group left and another was about to be seated, and they often became littered with bits of food and wet with spilled milk. As other contrasts, we noted repeatedly, as did some of the school's kitchen personnel, that children serving food at Rough Rock wore no caps, hair nets, or aprons, handled food with their fingers, and did not properly cover trays being sent out to sick pupils. We recorded many incidents of unhygenic conditions at tables and several more of untidy conditions on the floors and in the kitchen generally. The tables at Rough Rock were not graduated in size, and it appeared to us that numerous children were uncomfortable, as a result, during meals. We doubted, furthermore, that having to stand and wait repeatedly, sometimes for 30 minutes or more, to pass through the "chow line" was conducive to digestion. It puzzled us that when word was sent to administrators from time to time that an intolerably long line had formed, someone would often appear to help serve food, but no steps would be taken to stagger the arrival time of pupils or large groups of visitors.

The emotional tone of the Rough Rock dining hall, as we perceived it, often verged on the hectic. The Chinle dining hall was business-like, efficient, and perhaps mechanical, but certainly predictable. One moved in quickly, received his food quickly, was seated at a clean place according to a regular pattern, ate quickly, deposited his utensils quickly, and left quickly. We saw one perennially gruff food-server at Rock Point, where adults alone served food, but in general we were impressed with the relaxed spirit of the dining hall. With the one exception mentioned, people in the serving line were more affable and solicitous toward children than in the other two schools.

Unlike Chinle and Rock Point, no regular provision was made for children to obtain or purchase food between meals in the Rough Rock dorms. Students were not permitted to keep food in their cubicles, but occasionally some of the aides and older children made pop corn, cupcakes, or other treats which they sold to other students. The student canteen operated by the dorm-parent coordinator and members of the student council was housed in a small metal building near the dining hall. It was open week nights from about 6:30 to 7:30, and therefore not available to day students. It stocked candy, pop, some toiletries, and school supplies. Aides escorted small groups of students from the dorms to the canteen. Several of our observers noted that many of the children seemed to have rather large sums ($1.00 or more), which they nightly spent on candy and pop. These had to be consumed or shared before bedtime, or they would be confiscated by the aides. The uncontrolled consumption of candy, the litter it produced, and the rude behavior of some of the boys was a source of concern to the school nurse and dorm-school coordinator. The food service staff complained that children would not eat at dinner on the evenings when the canteen was to be opened, for they knew they could stuff themselves on candy later.

At all three schools, there were regular programs of bathing. All pupils were to bathe twice each week and be inspected visually by aides for evidence of body sores or other physical malfunctions. There was some laxity in the boys' dormitory at Rough Rock in this regard. Bathing was skipped at times for some groups of boys, and as we noted earlier, many boys did not remove their clothing even to go to bed. Not surprisingly, we encountered complaints in interviewing Rough Rock parents that boys were coming home with sores that had not been detected and treated.

Another regular feature of all three schools was the delousing process, generally staged at the beginning of each week when pupils returned from their homes. (Depending on the frequency with which blankets and sheepskins are cleaned and aired, Navaho hogans tend to be troubled by lice in various degrees.) At about 3:00 p.m. on Sundays at Rough Rock, a table in each dormitory laundry room was covered with sheets of white paper, and carbolic carbonate, tincture of green soap, fine combs, and small containers of kerosene were brought out. As the children checked in, they were sent to the showers, inspected, and given whatever treatment in the laundry room was deemed necessary. The boys were given closely cropped haircuts, and from time to time one would be seen wearing a paper cap and smelling of carbolic.

We observed similar head-treating ceremonies at Rock Point. At Chinle, we often noticed children who showed signs of the medication, but it was apparently applied in private. As Anglos, we thought the private treatment would save the pupils embarrassment, but we are not at all sure that Navaho children felt this way. To all appearances, their attitude toward delousing was matter-of-fact.

In all three schools, despite some minor laxity in the Rough Rock boys' dormitory, the dormitory children looked clean, well nourished, and comfortably clothed. The Rough Rock dormitory children looked definitely more well-to-do than their peers in the other schools, and the girls at Rough Rock had a distinct tendency toward dressing "mod." The day pupils who did not live on the Rough Rock compound appeared untidy and neglected in comparison. (The lack of plumbing and electricity and the shortage of water in the community must be kept in mind in this connection.) Chinle, with only dormitory pupils, had no problem in this regard. When Rock Point first began its bus lines, reportedly, it was noticed that dormitory pupils were teasing day pupils about their shabby clothing and ungroomed appearance. Meetings with parents were held to consider the problem. It was decided to run the busses earlier in the mornings, to give day pupils showers in the dormitories twice a week, and to change the clothing of the day pupils twice a day. The day pupils came to school in their "home" clothing, changed into their "school" clothing (which was laundered and repaired at the school) for the day, and shifted back to their "home" clothing at night. We detected no visible differences between dormitory and day pupils at Rock Point.

Illness and injury away from home have special meanings for the Navaho child, especially for the younger and more traditional. To be ill suggests that one may have been "witched," or may have done something wrong. To be ill in a BIA dorm far away from home often means that the advice and attention of older relatives, and the ceremonies of local medicine men are not available.

In our opinion the quality of care provided to sick children at Rough Rock was distressing. Conditions of sanitation were often deplorable in this regard. Procedures for giving medications, monitoring vital functions, and dealing with emergencies were at best haphazard and at times alarming.

Children who are ill often vomit and do other unpleasant things that call for an immediate clean-up. We observed on several occasions that aides would overlook these conditions from morning to evening; then the night aide would come in on her own and clean the rooms. During the first few weeks of November there was a rash of flu, colds, sore throats, and measles at Rough Rock. All four isolation rooms in the girls' dorm were occupied, often with extra bunk beds in place to accommodate all the sick children. We noticed that dorm parents and day-time aides avoided these little girls almost completely. (This behavior is understandable from one standpoint, because of the frightening connotations of sickness in Navaho culture.) On numerous occasions, older girls were assigned the task of tending the isolation rooms, and they always had the responsibility of bringing food from the dining hall. The food trays for sick children were haphazardly covered with paper towels, which often blew away during the windy walk between buildings. When the bedridden children finished eating, the dirty dishes and trays were often left in the rumpus room kitchen for several days, until the next occasion on which the kitchen was cleaned.

The Public Health Service nurse, who was stationed full-time at the Rough Rock clinic, visited the sick children each day during the week, but was generally unavailable on evenings and weekends. So far as we could determine, daytime dormitory aides made little systematic effort to follow orders relating to such duties as temperature-taking and medication-giving. The night aide and assistant dorm head were apparently more attentive and conscientious. We found it hard to believe that medications were properly administered in the light of the regularity with which small children ran fevers of more than 104°, and sometimes as high as 106°. As a partial explanation, we learned that one aide in the boys' dormitory was incapable, because he had no schooling at all, of reading thermometers or of discovering from the records what medications, in what amounts, should be given to whom.

As evidence that health care at Rough Rock may need improvement, we offer the following sample incidents, as described in our notes:

(1) __________(dorm aide) was quite upset because the night attendant, not the regular one, but a replacement, was almost half an hour late, and __________ had to give the night attendant instructions about two of the girls in the isolation ward that were quite ill and running high fevers, 104° or more she said. . . Dr. __________ told us there was a bad case of strep throat going about, and the moment anyone had a sore throat they should report to the Chinle clinic immediately.

(2) 9:00 p.m.: Dorm aide _________ knocked at the office door, . . . chatted about the night aide being late, and then said that they had a number of sick girls--down with Asian Flu or some with meales. I left the office and was on my way back to my cubicle about 10 p.m. when __________, who was in the office in the older girls' side, called to me and said that one girl, Linda ________ was running a fever of 106 1/2°. I didn't believe it, so she took me into the isolation room, and I took the child's temperature. It was 106 1/2°. The child was breathing with great difficulty. Her pulse was rapid and uneven.

I asked __________ if she had called the dorm head, and she said that she couldn't wake the dorm head. I suggested that she try, and _______ said that she had been given orders not to bother the dorm head under any circumstances. I then suggested that she try to get someone in authority, or the nurse. She indicated that no one answered, no one was home, etc. In the meantime, we ran some water in the tub and wanted to put the child into the lukewarm water to reduce the fever and prevent convulsions. By this time, B________ (dorm aide) and C__________ (dorm aide) had come on duty. B________ said that none of us were to do anything. When I said that a fever this high could do brain damage, she said that this was not true.

B was sent to get the boy who had driven us to the Clinic at Chinle, and also to see if the __________, the __________, or the __________ (all administrators) were home. When B__________left, with the assistance of C__________ and D__________ we put Linda into the tub of water and sponged her, taking her temperature about every five minutes. After about 15 minutes the fever had gone down to 104° and we were able to get Linda to take some aspirin and almost half a glass of some concentrated orange juice I had. B________ came back with E_______, who had a station wagon and was prepared to drive the child to Chinle. I suggested that one of the aides accompany him and tend to the child, but none of them was willing to go. D_________ said she would go. We wrapped the child in blankets and drove to Chinle . . . directly to Dr.__________'s house. . . The doctor said our treatment had been correct, and gave Linda a shot of penicillin and some pheno-barbital to prevent convulsions. . . The administration of aspirin was to continue, and force feeding of liquids, alcohol sponges were recommended that evening. Dr.__________ questioned as to whether Linda had been given aspirin as prescribed and said that next time any child's fever gets over 104° they be put in a tub of water, and then be brought to the clinic immediately. Got back to Rough Rock about 1:15 a.m., put the child to bed, and said good night.

(3) I stayed in the dorm office for about an hour from 1 to 2 p.m. to type some notes. Mr. ___________ (administrator) came in with Mrs. __________, who is the Navaho Dorm Supervisor at __________, visiting Rough Rock to get some ideas about how to manage her dorm. They scouted through the living room, both offices, rang the bells in the quarters of ___________ and __________, but could find no dorm aide or member of the staff. Mr. _________ did not wish to go wandering through the Girls' Dorm, so he asked me to take Mrs.____________ through the wings. . . During the half hour or so we roamed through the dorm after Mr. __________ left, the only people we saw were the sick children who were in the isolation rooms

. . . Surmised that all aides, parents and supervisors went off to some meeting, leaving a complete stranger (me) in the office. . . It's really rather frightening to think of the possible consequences of a fire with those sick kids and the administration building as far away as it is.

(4) __________, night attendant, told me that she had been looking for me Friday. . . I asked her why she wanted me, and she said that another little girl, Dorothy ________ had had a fever of over 106°. She couldn't wake dorm head. . . "Then I went to call you, but they said you was in Albuquerque. . . so I called __________ (dorm aide) and we tried to get Mr. __________, but he wasn't home, not the ___________ either, . . . nobody was home." She said that she put the child in a tub as she had seen us do and __________ helped her. They gave the child aspirin and things to drink. Finally, __________ was able to get ________, who was able to locate the dorm supervisor. Mr. and Mrs. __________ came over, and according to _________ Mrs. __________ was "real scared" and almost cried. They called the doctor in Chinle who told them to do just what ________ had been doing and to send __________ down for some medicine.

(5) Back at the dorm, __________, older student, opened the medicine cabinet and gave me his eye drops. I place them in his eyes according to directions. Dorm aides are supposed to do this, but leave it up to older boys to do themselves.

(6) A boy came in with his father. The father mentioned something to __________ (dorm aide). The boy had stepped on a nail at home. His shoe was muddy and his foot was bloody. I suggested that he be sent for a tetanus shot. I was reminded that he would have to be driven to Chinle and that there was no one to drive him there. He was instructed to wash his foot and soak it in hot water. I met him hobbling through the hallway about ten minutes later. He was barefoot and his foot was dirty. I told him to rewash it and keep it clean. __________ would put an antiseptic on it and cover it with a band aid. She said she'd watch him and check with him in the morning.

In the light of these conditions, we are not surprised that several Navaho parents at Rough Rock complained, when interviewed, about the lack of attention given to sick children in the dormitories. Ironically, several parents said the school should inform them right away when their children were sick so they (the parents) could take the children to the clinic for treatment.

We should emphasize that we were not exposed to dormitory life at Rock Point and Chinle for as lengthy a period as at Rough Rock, but we saw nothing in those schools to suggest similarly lax procedures for treating illness. It must be acknowledged, moreover, that Rock Point and Chinle enjoyed some special advantages over Rough Rock. Chinle, like Rough Rock, had a full-time nurse, but in addition, the largest Public Health Service Clinic in the area was located just across the street, and a PHS doctor in Chinle was on call for emergencies at all times. The nurse at Chinle reported that dormitory aides were methodical in following the orders she and the doctors left concerning pupils. At the Rock Point school, no PHS nurse was available, but the wife of one of the teachers, a Registered Nurse herself, gave health instruction in the dormitory and was available for emergencies. The dormitory head, who had been in the Army Medical Corps, took evident interest in maintaining a high level of health care. The isolation rooms at Rock Point were always spotless when we inspected them. For one morning each week, PHS sent a doctor and nurse from Chinle to set up a clinic in the dormitory, exclusively for the children. (On the afternoon of the same day, a clinic was maintained in the small Lutheran mission hospital for adults in the community.) In emergencies, the school often rushed pupils to the Lutheran mission hospital about half a mile away.

To secure further information in this regard, we included 23 questions on the school's health program in a questionnaire to which virtually all teachers in the three boarding schools and one day school in our study responded.[1] As we write this report, we have as yet been unable to examine the unidimensionality and scalability of the 23 items; so the results in Table 4:6 are only as valid as the assumption that the items measure, in the main, a single, unidimensional phenomenon. We must emphasize, further, that the responses represent the opinions and perceptions of teachers, not necessarily the characteristics of the health programs themselves. Within these limitations, the figures are not flattering to Rough Rock.

Table 4.6 Over-all Teacher Ratings of School Health Program.

School	Per Cent of Teachings Rating Low or Poor (1.15 to 2.07) (N)	High or Good (2.08 to 3.00) (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	16.6 (5)	83.3 (25)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	15.8 (3)	84.2 (16)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	52.0 (13)	48.0 (12)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	28.6 (4)	71.4 (10)	100.0 (14)

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[1] The questions are listed in Appendix B. The response categories (good, fair, poor) were allotted values of 3, 2, and 1, respectively, and mean scores were calculated for each school. Means from 1.00 to 2.07 were regarded as "low" and means from 2.08 to 3.00 as "high."

As compared with 83.3 per cent of Chinle Boarding School teachers, 84.2 per cent of Chinle Public School teachers, and 71.4 per cent of Rock Point teachers, only 48.0 per cent of Rough Rock teachers give their school's health program a high rating.

In response to the item, "The emotional climate of the dormitory promotes learning and good emotional health," 26.7 per cent of Rough Rock teachers rated their school as "poor," in comparison with 7.7 per cent at Rock Point and 5 per cent at Chinle (Table 4.7). No Rough Rock teachers chose the rating "good."

Another matter of pupil well being involves the runaways that occur in virtually all schools serving American Indians. Numerous AWOLs occurred at Rough Rock while we were gathering data. In examining recent records in the boys' dormitory, we remarked to a Navaho clerk nearby that "there have been an unusual number of runaways lately, haven't there?" He denied that this was so, stating that runaways had been just as frequent in the past, but "they don't show in the records." The records kept by dormitory personnel on such matters were haphazard, as our later investigations revealed, and were destroyed every few weeks.

It came to light, in this connection, that "School-Community Coordinator" (basically, a truant officer) had complained frequently of embarrassment because of the school's record-keeping and communication. On numerous occasions when

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Table 4.7 Teacher Ratings on Item: "The Emotional Climate of the Dormitory Promotes Learning and Good Emotional Health."

School	Per Cent of Teacher Saying Good (N)	Fair (N)	Poor (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	70.0 (14)	25.0 (5)	5.0 (1)	100.0 (20)
Rough Rock	00.0 (0)	73.3 (11)	26.7 (4)	100.0 (15)
Rock Point	38.5 (5)	53.9 (7)	7.7 (1)	100.0 (13)

he had visited homes to discover why pupils were absent, parents reported obtaining permission from the school to keep their youngsters at home for various reasons. Invariably, when he checked on these reports, he discovered they were true, but that nobody had bothered to make the necessary records. One of our observers reported that a mother had gone to the boys' dorm to sign her child out one weekend in November. After first offering her another child, the dorm aide then insisted that her child had been checked out on Friday. The mother came over to the school office and complained to a member of the staff, who instructed the aide to search for the boy. He was found in the gym and turned over to his mother. More seriously, several runaways on weekends went undetected or unreported for several days. When the school-community coordinator would finally learn of a runaway, he would rush out to the child's home, often many miles distant, to see if he was there, and would be berated angrily by parents, who now wondered whether their son or daughter was frozen to death on some hillside. Aides in both Rough Rock dorms, when interviewed, said that a more accurate checkout procedure was necessary for the older children, who would often sign themselves out and then remain in the school area for several hours. They reported that others did leave, but not for home. Younger children were not permitted to leave until a parent came into the dorm to check them out. It was our impression at Chinle and Rock Point that panic and immediate action occured when pupils went AWOL. Records at Chinle indicated that, though attendance was not as good as Rock Point, the Boys' Guidance Counselor and his staff had been able to reduce runaways almost 200% in the last two years. Continued reduction depended upon sufficient help, the time and transportation to see parents, and the means to return boys to the school. At Rock Point, the dormitory head and several adults seemed one day suddenly to be dashing about anxiously. We learned later that a child was AWOL. He was found and brought back to the school within an hour of his departure.

The final aspect of child-care considered here is the role of the dormitory in helping ensure that pupils attend classes promptly and regularly so the central purpose of the school may be achieved. The 1968 student handbook at Rough Rock stated that students were due back by 7:00 p.m. Sunday after a weekend home. If they abused this privilege, they were not to be permitted to go home the next weekend. This policy was not enforced by the dorm personnel, and in fact, some teachers and other staff members planned unofficially for a three-day week. Parents were permitted to check children out at any time, and there were rarely more than 50 children left in the dorms by 3:00 p.m. on Friday. At Rock Point, children were not permitted to leave until 3:30 on Friday or the day before a holiday. In the dorm living room, parents were matched to children, and the aides signed them out and told the parents when the child was to return. Like Rough Rock, there were few children in the Rock Point dorms on weekends, but unlike Rough Rock, those who did not return on time were restricted in their visits home, and parents were reminded of their responsibilities in this regard. Few children lived close enough to go home on weekends at Chinle. When children did go home, parents had to call for them at the dorm office, where they were told when the child was to return.

It was not until November that we observed absence reports from the Rough Rock dorms being regularly sent to the school office for teachers to check. Previously, teachers had no way of knowing whether children were home, ill, or "cutting." Though students were escorted to the classroom building by the aides, the departmentalized program for Phase II students offered opportunities for the older students to "cut" class by going to the gym, returning unnoticed to their dorm cubicle, and hiding near the canteen, back of the unfinished science building or in numerous other convenient spots. Several Phase II teachers went on daily hunting expeditions to round up stray students. Generally speaking, attendance seemed to be best at Rock Point. The dorm sent a list of students who would be absent from school and why to the office each morning, and the office informed the teachers. Elaborate records on absences from school, reasons, visits home, and behavior problems were maintained by the dorm staff. Children moved from the dorm to classes independently and teachers evidenced immediate concern for any absent student. At Chinle, each morning each dorm furnished lists to school administrators of students who were to be absent from school and why. Tardiness or unexcused absence from class, we were told by the Boys' Guidance Head, could result in a student's losing points if reported to the dorm head by the teacher.

Dormitory Personnel

The following tables summarize the backgrounds of the dorm staff sample interviewed at each school.

Table 4.8 Responses to Dorm Aide Interviews[a]

	Male	Female	Married	Live Compound	Live Community	Live Dorm	Total
Rough Rock (All Navaho)	4	10	10	6	4	4	14
Rock Point (10 Navaho 1 Anglo)	4	8	8	7	4	1	12
Chinle BIA (11 Navaho 1 Apache 2 Anglo)	5	9	12	12	0	2	14

[a] At Rough Rock: Sample includes 1 male Navaho dorm head, 1 female Navaho dorm head, 1 janitor, 1 dorm mother.

At Rock Point: Sample includes 1 male Anglo dorm supervisor, 1 Navaho janitor, 1 89-10 recreation leader, 1 female Anglo dorm head, 1 Navaho female dorm head, 1 female kitchen worker.

At Chinle BIA: Sample includes 1 Apache female dorm worker, 2 Anglo dorm heads, 1 male, 1 female, 2 Navaho dorm head (male, 1 female).

All Indian employees with education have attended boarding schools, BIA, or Mission at some time during their schooling.

Table 4.9 Background Characteristics

	Average Age	Average Education	Boarding BIA School[a]	Like BIA	Mode Yr Average Experience
Rough Rock	31.6 average 26-35 mode 1 over 50	6.2 yrs (N=14)	12 yes 2 no (N=14)	11 yes 1? (2 Mission)	3 yrs
Rock Point	33.8 average 26-36 mode 2 over 50	9.5 yrs (N=11)	9 yes 1 no-Mission (N=10)	9 yes 1 no-Mission (N=10)	3-5 yrs
Chinle	37.6 average 26-36 mode 2 over 50	10.9 yrs (N=11)	10 yes 1 no	7 yes 1 no 2?	5-7 yrs

[a] Anglo supervisors--G C not included--all have at least bachelors' (Rough Rock Navaho dorm heads, Rock Point Navaho and Anglo dorm heads, Chinle building supervisors are included. Interviewed, but not included in the responses were: Kitchen staff: at Rough Rock--1, at Rock Point--1, at Chinle--1. Supervisors: at Rough Rock--1, at Rock Point--1, at Chinle--2.

While some predictions could be made concerning the impact of the dorm staffs' background on the formal organization of the dorms, these characteristics tell little about the nature of the employee's feelings about his role in the organization, his willingness to cooperate. For this information we turn to the interviews conducted with dorm personnel. The selection of the sample and the interview technique were described earlier in the chapter. In analyzing the answers, the unit of enumeration was the meaningful phrase or set of phrases in any response. These were combined into more general categories for purposes of graphic presentation. When asked, "Why did you take a job in the dorm?" we received the pattern of replies summarized in Table 4.10.

It would seem that the higher educational level, longer experience record and location, perhaps, of the Chinle dorm sample gave them wider opportunities for employment. Lack of training and the isolation of the community may account for the tendency at Rough Rock to choose dorm work because it was the only job available almost twice as often as the groups at Chinle or Rock Point. Further, at all three schools, more than 80 per cent of the sample who attended BIA boarding schools indicated that they had liked the BIA schools.

Table 4.10 Why Did You Take a Job in the Dorm?

Response Category	Percentage of responses at: Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	Total Across Schools
Likes Children	33.3 (7)	36.8 (7)	43.8 (7)	37.5 (21)
No Other Job Training, Finances	14.3 (3)	15.8 (3)	12.5 (2)	14.3 (8)
Only Job Available	33.3 (7)	10.5 (2)	18.8 (3)	21.4 (12)
Principal Requested	4.8 (1)	15.8 (3)	6.3 (1)	8.9 (5)
Other	14.3 (3)	21.1 (4)	18.8 (3)	17.9 (10)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (21)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (16)	100.0 (56)

All were then asked what they did not like about the dorms in which they had lived as pupils. At Rough Rock, six of eleven indicated that they liked everything about it. The other five said they did not like the BIA dorms because of stealing, physical discomforts, hard work, crowding, restrictions from activities, preference for a community school, and unjust punishment. Seven of the ten at Rock Point indicated that they liked everything about the BIA dorms, although four indicated that they had no alternative, for home was too far away. The other three said they did not like the dorms because of regimentation, stealing, and daily compulsory church attendance. The Chinle sample of eleven aides who had attended boarding schools produced seven who indicated that they liked everything about the dorms they had attended, although three were forced to board because of distance from home. The other four said they did not like the BIA dorms in which they had to live as students because of inadequate physical facilities, harsh treatment by aides, being away from home, routine procedures, severe physical punishment, restrictions on movements and activities, and bullying by the bigger children in the dorms. The responses indicate that the boarding school experience shared by the staff members in our sample was similar. For many it was not remembered as an unpleasant experience.

The written policies expressing the expectations of the Rough Rock board for the dorm staff were general, concerned with terms of employment, and customarily phrased in negative terms. The board apparently had little to say about behavioral outcomes for students. The board did request that "everyone representing the school at any event shall display the highest type of personal conduct and sportsmanship. Adults chaperoning students should emphasize these standards to the children."

Rough Rock aides and dorm parents had few other guidelines which they might follow. At Rock Point and Chinle, in addition to the specific job description given in the civil service form for each employee, there were repeated in-service training sessions to attempt to eliminate the "old BIA dorm culture." Dr. Robert Bergman, PHS psychiatrist for the Navaho area, was conducting a weekly workshop for aides at Rock Point, discussing the fostering of positive self-images in children. Chinle's

Guidance Department sponsored similar internal workshops, to attempt to change the perception of the aides from housekeeper to companion to the children.

We asked the dorm aides at the three schools what their perceptions of their jobs were. Table 4.11 summarizes their responses.

The personnel at Rough Rock felt that their chief duties were in the areas of housekeeping, general child care, and routine duties such as escorting students to class, room inspection, etc. At Rock Point, the aides shared the first two with the Rough Rock sample, but saw recreation, and to a lesser extent, health care as important aspects of their duties. At Chinle, general child care was seen as paramount, but unlike Rock Point or Rough Rock, at Chinle the aides saw guidance and counseling as being more important than either housekeeping or recreational responsibilities. This may be a reflection of the weekly planning meetings with the guidance heads of the dorms and the various departments. The aides have written yearly schedules and lists of topics for their guidance and counseling sessions with

Table 4.11 Responses of Dormitory Aides to Question: "What Are Your Duties?"

Response Category	Percentage of responses at: Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	Total Across Schools
Laundry, clothes care, Housekeeping	29.3 (12)	24.3 (9)	13.2 (5)	22.4 (26)
Medication, Health Care	7.3 (3)	16.2 (6)	7.9 (3)	10.3 (12)
General Child Care and Supervision	29.3 (12)	21.6 (8)	26.3 (10)	25.9 (30)
Routine, Escort, Inspect	22.0 (9)	2.7 (1)	5.3 (2)	10.3 (12)
Recreation	2.4 (1)	18.9 (7)	13.2 (5)	11.2 (13)
Counseling and Guidance	7.3 (3)	8.1 (3)	23.7 (9)	12.9 (15)
Other	2.4 (1)	8.1 (3)	10.5 (4)	6.9 (8)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (41)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (116)

children in their charge. Their official responsibilities stress the guidance and counseling functions. However, it is interesting to note that when the aides were asked, "What is the main thing you are trying to accomplish in the dormitory?", the Chinle sample gave slightly higher priority to housekeeping functions than did Rough Rock or Rock Point. (Table 4.12)

A sense of pride in the organization for which one works and recognition of its uniqueness may influence the attitude of the employee toward the amount of effort he is willing to put forth. So we asked the subjects, "Is there anything special about this school which makes the dorm work different from any other school?" At Rough Rock, three aides out of fourteen saw no difference between the girls' dorm and the BIA dorms they had attended, or worked for. One janitor indicated he could not say, for he had never been to school, or worked in one before. The other ten had specific comments to make about the uniqueness of the Rough Rock dorm.

> 1. . . . The work is probably the same, only that here more Navaho are employed and much emphasis is on Navaho culture.
>
> 2. Other schools don't have parents and didn't allow children to put pictures etc., on walls . . . Dorm parents main job is to watch children when they're here and take courses. We don't tell them what to do. They do what they want. After lunch, they help clean off tables--help girls get in line. . .

Table 4.12 Responses of Dormitory Aides to Question: "What is the main thing You Are Trying to Accomplish in the Dormitory?"

	Percentage of responses at:			Total Across
Response Category	Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	Schools
Services to the Child	33.3 (6)	59.4 (19)	40.9 (9)	47.2 (34)
Program Planning and Implementation	11.1 (2)	12.5 (4)	-	8.3 (6)
Housekeeping, Keep Things Clean	22.2 (4)	15.6 (5)	27.3 (6)	20.8 (15)
Personal Goals	5.6 (1)	3.1 (1)	-	2.8 (2)
"Train Them to Behave"	27.8 (5)	9.4 (3)	31.8 (7)	20.8 (15)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (18)	100.0 (32)	100.0 (22)	100.0 (72)

3. At other BIA schools you can't talk Navaho--here you can. Also here we have dorm parents working. They give advice to the girls. We give them a chance to talk with the girls. . .

4. Here, at this school, the dormitory personnel act as parents to the boys. They always try to satisfy the needs and wants of the boys. Boys do their own room appearance /decorations/ . . .

5. The kids have more freedom and also more activities like going to the gym. Also the kids go home practically every weekend. Many of them are gone for more than the weekend. Rules for punishment are more lenient. . .

6. BIA keeps time schedule all the time. Here its mostly on own time. I like this one better.

7. Only thing we don't carry much is discipline. There's not enough discipline.

8. Maybe because a Navaho is the head of the dorm. The Parents complain of their children working too hard. They spoil them. . . the parents come here and complain because their children work too hard. The dorm parents complain. They say that the girls work too hard and get constant scolding and the girls know this, therefore don't work hard knowing they'd get out of it anyway. As a result, they tend to become very dependent.

9. Comparing it with Nazlini, we had strict rules at Nazlini. If kids misbehave, we let them work and keep them home from activities. Here the board members tell us that hurts the child. But we give the children demerits if they still misbehave.

10. It appears to be different. /14 year old daughter/ returned home having no respect for us as /older daughter at Mission School/does. It seems like they don't talk with students here. They don't teach students. They just scold them and get the girls mad and they talk back. . .

We asked the same question of the group at Rock point; three supervisors and one aide spoke of the good relationship and open communication between administration, faculty, and dorm staff and the respect and understanding they were shown. Two aides spoke of the dorm's recreation program, two aides and one janitor spoke of having both boys and girls in one building, and one aide and one food-service worker indicated that they had no experiences with which they might make comparisons. One older aide felt that the principal was too dependent on the community and that the community was too dependent on the principal. She made specific reference to the extra care, described previously, given to day students, which she said made parents "send their children very dirty and we have to clean them."

At Chinle, the three supervisors responded by emphasizing the school's size and its negative effects as being a dominant feature of the dorm operation. Two aides said Chinle dorms were like any other BIA schools, three had had no previous experiences and made no comments, one indicated that Chinle was more predictable, compared to Many Farms, and another aide noted that the little children needed more attention than the high school students she had worked with before coming to Chinle. Two aides felt there were too many channels, "too much red tape," and one complained that a place this big should have a gym. Another felt there was too much competition between wings and buildings.

As Rough Rock's initial proposal emphasized, dormitory people need to feel respected by other personnel in the school. We asked the dormitory aides, "Do the teachers and administrators in the school treat you with enough respect and courtesy?" Table 4.13 reveals that the lowest proportion of "yes" responses (50 per cent) in the three schools was at Rough Rock.

Data From Pupil Interviews

In our formal interviews, we asked the students about their dorm environment.

Table 4. 13 Responses of Dormitory Aides to Question: "Do Teachers and Administrators in This School Treat You With Enough Courtesy?"

Response Category	Percentage of responses at: Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	Total Across Schools
Yes	50.0 (7)	100.0 (12)	71.4 (10)	72.5 (29)
No	21.4 (3)	-	-	7.5 (3)
Sometimes	28.6 (4)	-	28.6 (4)	20.0 (8)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (14)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (40)

Information presented in the following tables was derived through a content analysis of the pupils' responses. A total of 174 interviews were analyzed. The general categories were derived empirically by recording each meaningful response phrase or group of phrases and grouping these into content classifications. The unit of enumeration was the meaningful response phrase or phrases in each reply. To validate the categories and the frequencies, an independent observer selected a stratified random sample of 50 per cent of the total interviews and attempted to slot responses into the already derived categories. The percentage differences between the classifications of the independent observer and the initial analysis were compared and where differences were significant, more specific definitions of categories were applied, categories were split, responses were re-analyzed and other changes were made. The largest overall percentage difference between the two analyses for any table was 3.92 and for any single category, 13.35. Generally speaking, the second analysis, that of the independent observer, tended to favor Rock Point, while the initial analysis favored Rough Rock. With noted exceptions, the tables presented are those of the modified initial analysis. The first question we asked the boarding students was: "Tell me something that happened to you in the dorm." (Table 4.14)

A higher proportion of children mentioned punishment by aides at Rough Rock than at Chinle or Rock Point. In terms of higher incidence of peer conflict at the BIA schools, we did observe a more highly developed peer culture in the BIA dorms, attributable perhaps to the greater contact between students in the organized recreation programs, and the presence of fewer adults. A hightly developed peer culture at Rock Point, we think, may have emerged partly as a result of the intact sibling groups in the dorms and the self- and peer-supervision policy promoted by the staff.

We asked the children what they liked about living in the dorm. As Table 4.15 indicates, the most frequent response at all schools had to do with playing, either with friends, toys, or games. However, almost three times more children at Rock Point mentioned dorm organized activities, specifically the "Free Flow" program. At Chinle a surprising percentage of children mentioned liking house-

Table 4.14 Responses of Pupils to Question: "Tell Me Something That Happened to You in the Dorm."

Response Category	Percentage of Responses at			Total Across Schools
	Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	
Peer Conflict	10.9 (6)	19.0 (12)	13.6 (12)	14.6 (30)
Illness, Injury, Hygene	20.0 (11)	15.9 (10)	26.1 (23)	21.4 (44)
Organized Group Recreation	5.5 (3)	17.5 (11)	13.6 (12)	12.6 (26)
Cleaning--Duties	16.4 (9)	12.7 (8)	20.5 (18)	17.0 (35)
Punished by Aides	23.6 (13)	6.4 (4)	5.7 (5)	10.7 (22)
Free Play and Independent Activities	16.4 (9)	23.8 (15)	9.1 (8)	15.6 (32)
Praise, Reward Protection by Aides	3.6 (2)	3.2 (2)	4.6 (4)	3.9 (8)
Miscellaneous or No Response	3.6 (2)	1.6 (1)	6.9 (6)	4.4 (9)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (55)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (88)	100.0 (206)

Table 4.15 Responses of Pupils to Question: "What Do You Like About the Dorm?"

Response Categories	Percentage of Pupils at			Total Across Schools
	Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	
Playing with toys and Friends	33.3 (19)	38.2 (21)	30.5 (25)	33.5 (65)
Organized Group Activities	8.8 (5)	27.3 (15)	7.3 (6)	13.4 (26)
Cleaning and Duties	15.8 (9)	12.7 (7)	23.2 (19)	18.0 (35)
Watching TV--Physical Facilities	24.6 (14)	10.9 (6)	31.7 (26)	23.7 (46)
Adults Talk to us--Reward us	12.3 (7)	-	2.4 (2)	4.6 (9)
Independent Acts--Reading etc.	5.3 (3)	5.5 (3)	4.9 (4)	5.2 (10)
Miscellaneous	-	5.5 (3)	-	1.6 (3)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (57)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (194)

keeping chores. In fact, several of the girls said that they "didn't like running around or playing in the dorm" but rather liked cleaning and sweeping. Part of this may possibly be explained by the points for treats which could be earned by cleaning, but several girls gave as their reasons the fact that their mothers or grandmothers had told them to spend their time cleaning. Further, successful completion of housekeeping chores brought attention, praise, and verbal rewards from the aides in the girls' dorms and status to older boys in charge of supervising others in the boys' dorms.

At Rough Rock, it was the little children who spoke of the pleasure of a warm dorm in winter, but most of the responses mentioning physical facilities referred to television. At Chinle, the younger children spoke of television, while the older ones spoke of "having my own bed" and "the food is better and it's warmer." Several of the older girls at Chinle were eloquent in their appreciation of the bathroom facilities. The younger children at Rock Point spoke of physical facilities. The older group apparently took them for granted. Several students at Rough Rock mentioned the attention paid to them and the treats they received from aides and dorm parents. It is likely that Rock Point children simply assumed they would be given snacks and treats. As we observed, at all schools, reading, a place to do homework, occupied the attention of few students.

The general category of punishment, by peers or aides, represented what students like least in the dorms at all schools. (Table 4.16) At all three schools a considerable percentage of students saw mistreatment by peers as a problem in the dorms. An equal proportion of Rock Point children said they liked everything in the dorms. Children at Rough Rock mentioned punishment by aides twice as often as did children at the other two schools.

Table 4.16 Responses of Pupils to Question: "What Don't You Like About Living in the Dorm?"

Response Category	Percentage of Responses at: Rough Rock	Rock Point	Chinle	Total Across Schools
Mistreatment by Peers	20.9 (14)	19.6 (10)	28.2 (27)	23.8 (51)
Fear of Conflict in Peer Group	-	-	25.0 (24)	11.2 (24)
Punishment by Aides--Adults	41.8 (28)	13.7 (7)	9.4 (9)	20.6 (44)
Cleaning--Duties, Details	13.4 (9)	19.6 (10)	8.3 (8)	12.6 (27)
Physical Facilities, Cold, Warm Water etc. Regimentation	11.9 (8)	11.8 (6)	-	6.5 (14)
Boredome, Lonely, Nothing to do	4.5 (3)	2.0 (1)	9.4 (9)	6.1 (13)
Like everything	6.0 (4)	21.6 (11)	13.5 (13)	13.1 (28)
Miscellaneous	1.5 (1)	11.8 (6)	6.2 (6)	6.1 (13)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (67)	100.0 (51)	100.0 (96)	100.0 (214)

Conclusions and Recommendations

A number of innovations in the Rough Rock dormitories and dining halls seem most promising: Local people who could not qualify for jobs under BIA regulations were working in the school, including kitchen employees, dormitory aides, and dormitory parents, and numbers of them had proven very effective. With many local Navahos present, it was unlikely that pupils would view the school as an alien place, staffed by representatives of another culture. The concept of employing parents appears to have particular merit for making the dormitories amenable to Navaho children.

The drastically reduced ratio of staff members to pupils, mentioned earlier, was also laudable. It is conceivable, as careful observers of dormitory schools for Indian pupils have suggested, that the most important single reform, short of abandoning the dormitories themselves, is to provide at least one adult worker for every fifteen pupils, thus fostering a richer, less mechanistic contact between adult and child.[1]

It was heartening to see at Rough Rock a notable improvement in physical surroundings. As compared with dormitory wings at Rock Point and Chinle, Rough Rock's four-pupil cubicles were much less institutional, much more individualistic. The half-hogan in the boys' living room and the Navaho loom in the girls' symbolized dramatically, we felt, that this was a Navaho school, as did other physical aspects of the school, such as a representation of the Navaho creation myth just inside the front door of the administration building.

There was room for improvement in some areas, however. Not much of the staff time made available by the presence of extra personnel was utilized to develop and maintain dormitory activities or to work intensively with children--particularly in the boys' dormitory. The extra staff time was apparently not devoted to reducing the routinization that seems almost unavoidable when a few adults must handle many children. The program of telling Navaho tales in dormitories was non-operative, and so far as we could determine, it may never have been regularly maintained. Little studying was done in the dormitories. No learning stations (envisioned in the original proposal) existed. Key personnel were anxious about their inability to function because of lack of guidance, supervision, job specification, and administrative support. Coordination with the classrooms was lacking. Disciplinary practices were inconsistent. Facilities such as arts and crafts rooms, living areas, and family-style dining rooms were seldom used for their intended functions.

As far as the health and safety of pupils was concerned, conditions in the Rough Rock dormitories were haphazard. Conditions in and around the isolation rooms were often unsanitary. Medications were at times not given according to instructions, and some sick children were basically neglected. The school's policies for detecting runaways were inadequate.

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[1] Dr. Robert Bergman, psychiatrist on the reservation for the U.S. Public Health Service, has written eloquently on this topic in a number of unpublished papers about school dormitories.

It is possible that conditions in the dormitories were much better in previous years; except for the previous year in the girls' dormitory, however, reports from current and former employees lent little support to the possibility. Perhaps if we had not focused particularly on Rough Rock's announced goals, we would have detected fewer weaknesses and more outstanding features.

A more interesting and plausible hypothesis is that the Rough Rock dormitories were uniquely Navaho; that as Anglos not intimately acquainted with Navaho culture, we missed the point entirely. Partly to test this idea, we revealed to the school's leaders a few of our findings shortly before leaving Rough Rock. We described to a high-level administrator, for example, the incident observed in the small boys' dormitory wing, when all the little boys stood at attention for more than ninety minutes to listen to a lecture. Though this pattern had been occurring regularly for nearly two years, according to our information, the administrator expressed consternation and said he knew nothing about it. We learned the next day that the head of dormitory services, too, had been entirely ignorant of the approach. A key staff meeting was held within hours, the dorm aide in question was asked about the accuracy of our report, and the lectures were brought to an end.

In addition to this little "test," we discussed practices in the dormitories in disguised form with several Navaho people and BIA officials. Both groups disparaged the practices, identifying many of them as typical in BIA dormitories years ago. We are reluctantly inclined to speculate that the questionable practices observed at Rough Rock werethe result, not of a uniquely Navaho program, but of a nonprogram. Well intentioned aides and dormitory parents, given little indication of what they should do, may have reverted to the BIA culture they had known years ago, a culture that in the meantime had been modified in many BIA dormitories.

Part of the explanation for the lack of a coherent dormitory program possibly is found in the fact that the former director's wife was in charge of dormitory services for almost two years. While we do not question her ability or integrity, it was widely reported at Rough Rock, by the people who were in the best position to know, that the former director would tolerate no criticism of the dormitories while she was in charge. Several personnel who had worked under her direction reported her contacts with the dormitories to be minimal.

Another part of the explanation, we suspect, is the romantically appealing notion that whatever is "Navaho culture" is necessarily good and universally applicable. From this "noble savage" standpoint, to reform a dormitory for Navaho children one needs only to staff it with traditional Navahos and let their culture tell them what to do. But a dormitory is not a hogan. The means developed by Navaho culture for regulating life in Navaho homes may be inapplicable to large groups of children of similar ages, living in continuous proximity.

While raising these objections to some of what we saw, however, we still find the idea of making dormitories uniquely compatible with Navaho culture tremendously appealing. Here is an area, we think, where the all-Navaho school board should become involved much more than in the past. We would like to see a series of planning sessions instituted for the dormitories at Rough Rock. Professionals with knowledge of child development and dormitory operation should confer at length with spokesmen for the Navaho community, with the end in mind of divising a new, rational, workable program.

Special pre-service and in-service training programs should then be devised and carried out systematically. Rather than being rotated every eight weeks, in deference to the employment preferences of adults, dormitory parents should be kept on the job long enough to acquire important skills and to develop meaningful relationships with children. And if children are to identify with them, the parents must be given positions with status and tasks that children view as important. In some respects, Navaho culture, like all other cultures, will have to adapt to changing conditions. Children must not be permitted to run high fevers because Navaho culture encourages aides to avoid isolation rooms. Runaway boys must not be left in the open country because Navahos have not traditionally kept methodical records. Children must not be deprived of instruction in the basics of courteous behavior in the Anglo world because tables and forks are not traditionally used in hogans. Not in a school avowedly dedicated, like Rough Rock, to the "both-and" approach.

With the exception of some patterns which we think should be corrected immediately, our recommendations for the Rough Rock dormitories concern, not the specifics of a program, but the processes by which a program uniquely adapted to Navaho culture should be developed, instituted, maintained, reevaluated, and continuously improved. Since conditions at Rough Rock are so unusual, we submit that many methods needed in the school must be developed there and that the Navaho people themselves must participate extensively in developing them. Our recommendations, then, are as follows:

1. Procedures of health care at Rough Rock should be reformed immediately, along with procedures for detecting runaway pupils. Personnel who have not been adequately trained to care for sick children should not be left with the responsibility.

2. The current ratio of adult personnel to children in the Rough Rock dormitories should be maintained, but the extra staff energy and time thus made available should be harnessed to new functions.

3. The practice of employing local Navahos as aides and dormitory parents should continue, even when they cannot qualify under standards generally applied by BIA, but in return for this privilege, rarely extended in other boarding schools on the reservation, the school board should abandon its practice of replacing the parents too frequently to permit acquisition of significant skills and development of meaningful relationships with children. It should be clearly understood, as well, that the practice of employing untrained and largely uneducated people is acceptable only if they are provided with unusually intensive training.

4. An operational definition of the "both-and" approach should be developed at Rough Rock. If children are to acquire elements of both the Navaho and Anglo cultures, what elements, when, and how? Should the child identify with traditional Navahos, with considerably acculturated Navahos, or with some new blending yet to be achieved? To what extent, and in what respects, must pupils learn in the dormitories and dining room how to function in Anglo culture? Is the aim of the school to prepare Navaho youngsters to get fairly steady jobs while remaining on the reservation and living basically traditional lives? If so, learning experiences in dormitories and classrooms can be designed accordingly. But if youngsters are to aspire to college educations and occupations requiring them to move comfortably and confidently from Navaho surroundings to Anglo surroundings, a much broader

range of understandings and skills is mandatory.

5. A planning committee should be formed as soon as possible for the purpose of defining what is meant at Rough Rock by the "both-and" approach and subsequently of spelling out in operational terms the implications of that definition. Staffing policies, pre-service and inservice training, facilities, equipment, recreational activities, dining room practices, child care policies, and all other elements of the dormitory program should be scrutinized and restructured in the light of those conceptions. Along with the school board and other local Navahos, numerous segments of the school's professional and subprofessional staff, aided at times by the insights of special consultants, should be involved in the process.

6. Well designed action research should be utilized on a continuing basis to determine the effectiveness of various approaches utilized in the dormitory program, and the approaches should be modified and refined accordingly. The systematic record-keeping needed to support such research should be instituted, and religiously maintained. More specifically, a demonstration school's dormitories need accurate records on attendance, runaways, illness, enuresis, serious discipline problems, emotional disturbance, and numerous other indices of the quality of group life.

CHAPTER 5

PROGRAMS OF INSTRUCTION

Since schools exist primarily for instruction, one can hardly study an experimental venture like Rough Rock without examining, not merely the end products of teaching, but what happens in classrooms, libraries, and other facilities oriented to instruction. But educational research has not yet created methodologies for analyzing, comprehensively and objectively, the critical processes of teaching and learning. Some promising devices are under development, but in general the data they produce are abstract and particularistic, leaving untouched important areas of behavior. We attempted for approximately two weeks at Rough Rock to apply one of these instruments, but in comparing the results with our observational notes, we concluded that it was failing to reflect the phenomena that impressed us as most determinative, especially in a school for Navaho children. After considering the problem at length, we settled upon the strategy embodied in the present chapter: We would obtain two professional judgments concerning programs of instruction. One would concern the classrooms and instructional programs generally, from viewpoint of the professional educator. The other would focus more specifically on Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL), bilingualism, and Navaho literacy, from the viewpoint of the linguist-anthropologist. The two reports, done independently, are reproduced in this chapter. They are presented, we reemphasize, as descriptions and assessments by individuals competent to provide them. We cannot guarantee that other observers, equally capable, would not describe the same activities differently or reach dissimilar conclusions.

The first of the reports reproduced below was written by the assistant director of the study, Henrietta Schwartz, formerly a public school teacher of ten years' experience and now a research assistant and doctoral candidate in the Department of Education of the University of Chicago. In 1966 Mrs. Schwartz was awarded the Kate Maremont Award as Chicago's Dedicated Teacher of the Year. For eight of her ten years of teaching, she worked in multi-racial schools in Chicago. For three additional years she was assistant principal, with responsibilities that included the evaluation of beginning and experienced teachers. She was awarded a fellowship at the University of Chicago in the fall of 1966.

The second of the reports was provided by Professor Oswald Werner of the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University, who has done extensive linguistic work on the Navaho reservation and whose special areas of interest include bilingual education and structural linguistic approaches to teaching English as a second language.

In the final section of this chapter, we discuss some general conclusions that seem warranted in the light of the two reports, and we submit a number of recommendations accordingly.

Teaching and Learning in General

by Henrietta Schwartz
(assistant director of the study)

The comments that follow are based on many hours of observation at the three boarding schools in the study.[1] At Rough Rock, no single observation lasted less than two hours, and all teachers but two (one in the primary grades and one in the upper grades) were observed from one to five times. Navaho language classes and some classes conducted by Anglo teachers were observed for pre-specified purposes at Rough Rock by a Navaho field worker who had had no previous contact with the Rough Rock school. Faculty meetings, in-service training workshops, informal gatherings of teachers, and extra-curricular activities were attended at all three schools. The writer's eleven-year-old daughter was questioned concerning certain characteristics of the classes she attended at Rough Rock. Eight of Rock Point's ten classroom teachers were observed, each for at least two hours and most for a day or more. In addition, observations were made of lessons conducted by the music teacher at Rock Point, the TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) director, and the principal, who taught TESL lessons in the second-through-fifth grades almost every day. Classes were observed in Rock Point's math lab and in the library, which housed programmed reading. The observer went to recess, to the gym, and to extra-curricular activities with the pupils at Rock Point. Of the 32 classroom teachers at Chinle, 12 were observed, a stratified random sample, at least one from each grade level.

When observations were made in the dormitories, members of the team sometimes participated actively in groups of children and adults. The classroom observations were strictly non-participant in nature. The observer sat quietly at the back of the room, watching without comment and making notes. No teacher was observed without his advance permission. At the end of each period of observation, the observer's notes were given to the teacher, and a time was arranged at which the teacher and the observer could discuss the notes together. At the pre-appointed time, the teacher was asked to clarify any puzzling observations and to make any comments he wished to make. He was asked what he felt were his greatest instructional problems and most successful teaching techniques. The discussions were open-ended, with opportunity for teachers to discuss anything they wished to discuss. At all four schools the observer was well received. Teachers were most courteous and helpful in facilitating the observations.

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[1] We had intended to observe classrooms at the Chinle public elementary school as well, but we were denied access by the school superintendent.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School

Instruction at Rough Rock was organized in terms of a nongraded structure. Rather than being grouped into grades, pupils were assigned to classes designated as belonging to "Phase I" or "Phase II." The Phase I classrooms were described as covering levels of instruction from kindergarten to what would normally be designated the fourth grade. Phase II was devoted to instruction at levels normally designated as grades five through eight.

Pupils at Rough Rock were grouped heterogeneously (not in classes comprised of children performing at similar levels academically), particularly in Phase II. As a result, most teachers were confronted with classes having a three-year age spread, and two Phase II classes had a five-year achievement spread. Though the classes were relatively small, the achievement spread necessitated a highly individualized program. In the Phase I classes, the children entered the beginners' level with a wide range of fluency in Navaho and in English. This diversity was further complicated by the "compound children," children of staff members, living on the compound, who came from English-speaking homes and knew no Navaho. Administrators had experimented with a series of organizational patterns during the three school years in attempting to develop a successful non-graded, bilingual program. In fact, the week we arrived at Rough Rock, a new organizational plan was instituted which created "core" classrooms (classrooms devoted to the basic subjects) in Phase I and Phase II. Children in the upper grades spent most of their time in the core classroom and then moved to other sections of the classroom complex or the boys' dorm, for gym, industrial arts, home economics, Navaho Language and Social Living, and library. The music teacher, the Navaho language teacher, the remedial reading teacher, and the TESL teacher came to the classrooms of the Phase I groups to conduct lessons. The core classroom teacher was responsible for all other phases of the program.

On several occasions teachers expressed hope that the school would grow no larger lest it lose the flexibility a demonstration school needed. One teacher indicated that "if someone had been really thinking, a new classroom building would have been started last June." Every classroom at Rough Rock was in use, and three Phase II classes were housed outside of the classroom building, one in the Community Service Center, and two in a large metal portable building. The class housed in part of the Community Service Center was very crowded. Attempts to utilize special interest groups resulted in chaos, for there simply was not adequate work space between groups. The two men in the metal building had their students decorate the walls, inside and out, and while the teachers liked the additional work space and privacy of the building, noise from the portable heating unit often made oral work impossible. The classrooms in the main building were large, bright, and well equipped with AV materials, books, and general school supplies. Each room, with the exception of two just created from a storage area, had a closed-circuit TV set. We were told that attempts had been made by the curriculum center to show some instructional television programs, but that reception was very poor. Properly selected, installed, serviced, and used, closed-circuit TV equipment normally can be expected to give excellent reception. We were told by one of the administrators that the installation carried a service guarantee, but that the school's leaders had been unable to follow through on measures to make the system work effectively. Teachers frequently used the tops of the sets as storage areas, but never for instruction so far as we could determine.

Each student in Rough Rock's beginners classes was supplied with a set of Cuisenaire rods, with crayons, paper, pencils, etc. Other Phase I students had similar materials, in addition to books and workbooks. All Phase II students were using the Greater Cleveland Math Series workbooks and the Cuisenaire rods, both of which seemed most successful. In fact, math lessons were generally the bright spots in the classroom program. Some of the teachers were using SRA reading kits; others used a combination of graded readers and workbooks in spelling and vocabulary. Though the Sullivan programmed reading series was used last year, it was discontinued this year, and teachers were left to their own plans in the area of reading. The new remedial reading teacher, who had arranged for Dr. C. Gattegno to conduct an in-service workshop at the school, was introducing the Words-In-Color program to one of the slowest groups in the Phase I program. Other Phase I teachers were called in to observe the technique in the hope that some might wish to adopt it. Special materials, duplication services, instructional program aides and audio-visual equipment were plentiful. Last year, reportedly, students were allowed to go to the cupboards and get supplies at any time. Apparently this policy was not successful, for this year all teachers were distributing supplies on request, and then, rather cautiously.

Each classroom teacher at Rough Rock was given the services of an aide, and, in the Phase I classrooms, a room mother. The aides were bilingual and the mothers were Navaho-speaking. In the classrooms of Anglo teachers, with few notable exceptions, the aides were used as clerks and messengers and the mothers as disciplinarians. There were no Navaho core teachers at the Phase II level, and only one of the Anglo teachers was fluent enough in Navaho not to have to depend on the aide to translate.

In addition to the attendance problem mentioned in Chapter 4, Phase II teachers complained of tardiness and "cutting." Teachers spoke of their frustration to control this behavior because there were so many places children could hide on the compound, and because of lack of support from the administration to enforce some uniform policy of attendance. Some of the male teachers made it a policy to go out and physically collect their students, boys usually, from the gym, from behind the canteen, from the washrooms, from the area around the unfinished science building. Girls were chastised by being made to stay after 3:30 or to miss recess.

In the Phase I classrooms, until the third-grade level, there were mixed-seating patterns for boys and girls. But by the time the children reached the age of eight, the separation of the sexes was very obvious. When they were given the opportunity to chose their own seats, the girls sat on one side of the room, the boys on the other. During seatwork periods when teacher and aide were giving individual help, the female aide worked with the girls and the male teacher with the boys. The room mothers made no distinctions, but supervised the behavior of both sexes.

There is little doubt that Rough Rock teachers need training in the more efficient use of aides and room mothers. The aides were rarely given the opportunity to participate in the instructional program, except to translate or to assist with seat work and bulletin board projects.

Each day, most of the children at Rough Rock spent from ten to thirty minutes in the library. The older children would browse or look at special books put out by the librarian(sometimes at the request of a teacher who was introducing a particular topic). The younger children would have story telling sessions. As they sat on the floor, the librarian would read to them, often using an overhead projecter to flash pages and pictures from the book onto a screen. Generally speaking, the children were spectators during these periods, seldom providing responses or questions. When our 11-year-old requested some material from the librarian, she was overwhelmed by his response. He produced files of newspaper clippings, books, etc., and spent much time giving information on the subject.

Rough Rock teachers enjoyed much freedom in planning daily activities in their classrooms. There was no prescribed curriculum; the principal of the Phase I program encouraged teachers to develop their own programs. She subscribed to the philosophy that a child must be literate in his own language first, before he could successfully learn a second language. Unfortunately, not all of her staff shared her views. The planning for lessons in the Phase I program ran the gamut--from the new Anglo teacher who played it by ear ("I just ask the kids what they would like to do each day, and we go from there") to an experienced Navaho teacher who followed a highly structured and predictable program each day. It is most difficult to cull samples from the mass of observation notes, so we have summarized our impressions of the Phase I classrooms:

The most noticeable feature of the Rough Rock language program was its variety--in content, teaching style, and emphasis. One young Anglo teacher, new to Rough Rock, was attempting to use the Gattegno Silent Drill for phonics instruction with 8-to-10-year-old students. As he pointed to written syllables and vowel-consonant combinations, the class called out sounds. The teacher did not speak the correct sound, but rather pointed to the child who finally identified it. The class rarely saw the child being pointed to, nor were they likely to hear the correct pronounciation among the many being shouted. They just kept calling sounds they had learned, apparently because they had discovered this pleased the teacher. They found it very difficult to decode consonant blends. There was a great deal of random activity, though the room mother circulated and called children to attention in Navaho. Each desk and each pocket, contained a treasure of interesting things to capture a child's attention. It was almost impossible to evoke audible individual responses, especially from the girls, though with encouragement, the group responses were loud.

In another Phase I class, the young male Anglo teacher was using SRA materials. During one "reading and listening" lesson, the children sat quietly--drawing, sleeping, fiddling, staring into space, as the teacher read aloud, in English, a story about Norway. When he finished, he asked the class what they thought of the story, whether they enjoyed it, understood it, could answer questions about it. To each of these queries, there was no response. It was only when he asked if they wished to have it read again that the class responded with a loud "Yes!" In sharp contrast, a young female Navaho teacher was observed reading a story to youngsters gathered about her in a first grade classroom. The story was written in English, but the teacher told the story in Navaho, showing the children the pictures as she went along. She asked the children questions during the narration. They responded, asked questions, and pointed to objects in the pictures. She read the story twice. On the second reading, she failed to mention something she had referred to the first time. The children stopped her and apprised her of the omission. Attention was rapt and every face was turned toward her.

To an Anglo, there appears to be much "cheating" among students during written work periods at Rough Rock, but fear of ridicule, of being shamed in public, or of making a mistake and a tradition of sharing, all prominent in Navaho culture, made copying an acceptable way of getting work done.

One Navaho female teacher in a class with an age range six to ten was engaged in a bilingual program which divided the room into an English corner and a Navaho corner. Though the children spoke Navaho in either corner, the teacher conducted sight vocabulary and phonics drills in English in the designated English corner and similar Navaho work in the Navaho corner with small groups. The aide was used to supervise children engaged in seatwork projects. This teacher used her room mother to make presentations in Navaho about such topics as how to card wool, spin it, and prepare it for the loom. When working with small groups, this teacher demanded the full attention of all the children in her group and would quietly but sternly recapture any wanderer. Children were not permitted to have anything in their hands when they came to the language circles, and squirming was considered rude. Though the TESL substitution drills were faithfully followed, the children had trouble with the distinction between "he" and "she" and "does" and "doesn't." Each mistake was corrected by the teacher and repeated correctly by the child, but little was done to make the children understand the distinction in concepts. Though the children learned the TESL patterns well during our period of observation, in speaking with them in the dorms, we discovered they could not use the individual words in other sentence patterns.

In our judgment, one of the most effective teachers we have ever seen was teaching beginners at Rough Rock. This smiling Navaho lady, in her mid thirties, was in her third year at Rough Rock. She used her aide and room mother most effectively to do individual work with students. The language lessons with small groups or with the whole class were varied, humorous, and meaningful. There was much physical contact between teacher and students, constraining for disruptive students, rewarding for others. The children were open, and responses were spontaneous and frequent in both languages. Each morning began with a TESL lesson for the whole class. The children looked forward to it. When the teacher changed the routine of the day and eliminated a bit of humorous business from one of the drills, the children chastized her in English, asking if she was "lazy." Everything proceeded at an even, secure pace. There were no great highs of excitement, no lows of boredom or punishment. Things went in their accustomed order. The little that was new was introduced by being connected to something familiar. During one of the Navaho lessons, the teacher was attempting to teach the distinction between the sounds "n" and "m." She knew the children just were not getting it. Then she hit upon the idea of drawing a smiling face for the sound of "n" and a frowning face for the sound of "m." The children understood. She said later, "I should have thought of that before. We have been working on this for two days." This teacher's fund of experience allowed freedom in the classroom, but one always had the feeling that she was "on top of things." She was constantly moving about, as were her aides, a characteristic of the other effective teachers at all levels.

These examples give some idea of the range of styles and approaches to the language program in the Phase I classes. We felt that the Navaho teachers in the beginners, kindergarten, and first year classes were the most effective in the school, primarily for two reasons: (1) they were all Navaho, and (2) all but one had either training or experience to provide the techniques necessary for teaching at this level.

Generally, the effective teachers were not upset by students' disruptive behavior, for they controlled it quickly. One had the feeling that no matter how many different things were going on in the classroom at any one time, these teachers were in control, not repressively, but through the means they used to capture and sustain pupil attention.

The observations of three members of the team support this generalization. The children in the beginners and first grade classes worked hard and seemed to welcome a predictable, planned day. Though an inexperienced Navaho kindergarten teacher tried, she was unable to prevent fights and other disruptive activities, which visibly upset her in the classroom. While another new first-grade teacher had some problems, her teacher training did give her some of the skills which the more experienced teachers had acquired through the years. If someone had taken the time to help the kindergarten teacher use her aide more effectively, behavior problems in the classroom would have been reduced. There was little uniformity or structure in the TESL programs in the Phase I classes, but emphasis on language training in all of them. What we missed was any school-wide assessment of the effectiveness of one method over another, or some attempt to integrate the program from one level to the next. Assuming that teachers were following Bloom's "learning for mastery approach"--that is, permitting each child to use whatever time and motivational devices he needed to master a given body of material, we were not always sure that teachers in the Phase I program knew what that body of material was.

During informal conversations with teachers following observations, the lack of articulation and integration of primary curriculum goals was often mentioned. Several said the administration would do well to pay more attention to this aspect of the Rough Rock program and "less to the public image stuff."

We were conscious of much random behavior in the classes of Rough Rock's Anglo teachers, where the children were less attentive. By the third year of school, the children had developed to a fine edge the tool of "tuning out" the teacher. By this time, the pupils were aware of the powerless of teachers to control pupil behavior without cooperation from pupils themselves. The phase II core classrooms were all staffed by Anglo teachers, only one of whom spoke Navaho. Navaho teachers for Phase II were found in such special areas as Home Economics, Navaho Social Living, and Navaho Language. Again in Phase II, we observed a wide range of techniques in the core classrooms. Generally speaking, the classes were teacher centered, and when students were asked to direct classroom activities, they resisted, though in one instance, we did see a bilingual Anglo teacher get his older students to present a reading version of a play based on Rip Van Winkle. In all Phase II rooms there was an obvious separation between boys and girls.

The male teachers were more effective in maintaining classroom control than were the two female teachers in the upper grades. Frequently, in our informal conversations with this group of teachers, the same problem of lack of knowledge of what the other fellow was doing was stressed. Teachers had to start from scratch each year, not knowing what the child had mastered before. One of the female teachers indicated that "it's no surprise the kids get bored. They get the same thing year after year. At least the little ones are learning something new." Several older girls in the dorm said they were going back to Many Farms next year because they were not learning anything new at Rough Rock. One of the brightest girls in the school, in about the sixth grade, indicated that her mother was not going to let her come back to Rough Rock, because she was learning the same thing she learned last year. Two of the young male teachers in the Phase II program, one with a Master's degree and three years of teaching experience and the other with two years experience at Rough Rock, spent about three hours with the observer one afternoon. Several times during the conversation they spoke of the lack of articulation between the various levels of the curriculum.

One of them felt the curriculum center should establish some long-term skill and content goals for a time period in school--two years or three years. Both young men noted their own inadequacies in knowledge of how to teach reading. They felt that most other faculty members sensed the same need. One of them said it was entirely possible for a child to go through eight years of schooling here and learn spoken languages very well, but not to be able to read and write his own name.

The School-Community Coordinator reported many of the same points concerning the opinions of pupils and parents.

In terms of content, the Phase II teachers were most successful in their math instruction. The Cuisenaire rods, the Stern program, the Greater Cleveland Math Series, the students' enthusiasm, and the teachers' perceptions that Navaho students were particulary good in math generated a kind of self-fullfilling prophecy. Students would work in their math workbooks any time they could, and when a teacher was conducting a dull phonics lesson or something else which did not hold interest, students would take out their math workbooks and go to work.

Phase II teachers were least successful in their Language Arts program, and most of them were looking for help. Two teachers adopted a free reading approach. They gathered readers at all grade levels and matched student and reader. They would spend a portion of each day listening to the child read orally and then testing for comprehension. Progress was recorded . in the child's individual folder. The method worked well for one teacher, but not so well for the other, who reported great guilt feelings when he could not get to the program each day. Other teachers used SRA kits, and according to our 11 year old observer some of the older children liked working with these but had to be closely supervised. Another teacher used the Roberts English Series and vocabulary and spelling lists. All Phase II teachers gave multiple spelling tests, and all the students had spelling workbooks. We did not observe much in the way of composition work, except in the class with the older students. We were aware of a general of reluctance of pupils to turn in papers. Teachers explained that the Navaho child was ashamed to submit something which was not perfect, or which he knew would be criticized. Several teachers who were aware of this made it a practice to note no more than one error on any paper and to return each paper privately. The TESL program was conducted in each classroom by the core teacher, but without any uniform pattern in the Phase II classes. However, it did seem that students' dislike and poor performance of phonics exercises prompted teachers to give less attention to this phase of the program.

More success was observed in the area of social studies. Many teachers used the study of other Indian peoples to give the children a sense of belonging to another larger group. One teacher did an impressive job of starting each class day with a twenty-minute report on current events, illustrated with pictures, maps, vocabulary words, etc. This same teacher arranged for a lawyer attached to the DNA office at Chinle (DNA is a federally financed service of legal counsel to Navahos) to speak to some Phase II classes on the Indian Civil Rights bill of January 1968. In a later conversation, the lawyer indicated disappointment concerning a lack of knowledge of Navaho custom and law exhibited by the children at Rough Rock. The Navaho Social Living classes were responsible for this phase of the cultural identification program. Much time was spent in the NSL class in discussing such books as Black Mountain Boy and topics like the ceremonies which accompany the first snow. The children were being exposed to the information. However, the two teachers in the Navaho curriculum program expressed ambivalence concerning the benefits of teaching Navaho components in school, an ambivalence possibly communicated to the children. We encountered further evidence of ambivalence when we spoke to teachers and older students about the story-telling program last year. The girls said the stories were "no good, just a bunch of old people telling you to stay away from boys." Teachers indicated that boys tried to escape the story-telling sessions by coming over to the gym. We rarely observed students in the Navaho arts and crafts room, and we never saw any of them taking arts and crafts instruction, though we had been told this was occurring.

While a sense of industry and accomplishment seemed general in the lower, Phase I classes, we did sense much random behavior, boredom, and disruption in the classes with older students (Phase II), particularly in groups taught by female Anglo teachers. Without knowledge of the language, without ability to use the Navaho aide as a teaching partner, without a predictable system of rewards and punishments supported by the administration, the new classroom teacher at Rough Rock lived a tense life, especially if a female. Boys who might make trouble for a woman were less likely to misbehave in a man's class. While corporal punishment was frowned upon, male teachers did physically quiet disruptive students. One of the female teachers in the Phase II program indicated she had to "slap some boys across the face to bring them in line." Several teachers who had been at Rough Rock under the previous director felt that his policy, reportedly, of revoking teacher sanctions, of refusing to discipline a child under any circumstances, was something the new administration would change. However, in an incident involving the director, a teacher, and a faculty child early in the year, a teacher was ridiculed in public, and others began to despair that the hoped-for changes would come. Two Navaho teachers pointed out that this was not the Navaho way, for Navaho punishment was swift and even harsh. They felt that lack of a firm disciplinary policy only caused teachers to lose respect in the eyes of students. We would tend to agree, for the teachers who established and enforced standards seemed to have the best rapport with students. Some Navaho teachers had a "permissive" atmosphere in their classrooms, but they tolerated no disrespect. But then, their knowledge of the language made it possible for them to know when the children were being disrespectful.

The creativity and dexterity of the students was capitalized on in their art periods, in home economics classes, and in industrial arts. During the last week of our stay in November a music teacher was added to the staff, but we were not able to observe any of his classes.

The Rock Point Boarding School

The Rock Point classes were homogeneously grouped on the basis of reading ability. Rather than being given grade designations, classes were called "A', "B", "C", etc. There were, in addition, kindergarten class and two beginners classes. Because of the grouping practice, there was not the achievement spread found in the Rough Rock classes, though in some classes the age range was greater. The average core class size was larger than Rough Rock's by about ten students. Every available classroom was in use in the old building, and a corner of the gym in the new building housed the fifth grade class. There was no physical education teacher. The school secretary coached the girls' winning basketball team.

Teachers escorted their groups to recess in the morning and afternoon whenever they came to a logical stopping point in their work. Often teachers played with pupils on the playground, and then returned with them to class. Children were rarely tardy. Teachers indicated that attendance was good as long as the roads to the homes of the day students were passable.

When teachers requested time to work with small groups, a split schedule was established. The "Early Birds" reported to class at 8:30 and left at 3:30; the "Owls" appeared at 9:00 and stayed till 4:00. The "Owls" were the faster students; the "Early Birds," those who took more time to comprehend. The

Rock Point classrooms were large, bright, and gaily decorated. Most had phonographs. Each had a biology tank or aquarium. Like Rough Rock and Chinle, Rock Point had a master public address system. The system was rarely used at Rough Rock, except on clinic days to remind teachers of clinic appointments for their students. At Chinle, it was used to make routine administrative announcements. While the system was used for these purposes at Rock Point, it also served another daily function. Each morning at about 9:10, the principal would greet the children (who returned his greeting) and introduce the topic for the Oral English lesson for the day. Several lessons during one week were devoted to distinguishing between past, present, and future. All classes at all levels would spend at least two periods during the day working on this concept, modified to suit the age and ability of the class. Just before the lunch hour, the PA system was used to announce the menu for lunch, and another brief TESL lesson was conducted so children would be able to ask for their food in English in the dining hall.

Paper, pencils, and other school supplies were limited at Rock Point. The principal and some members of his staff ran activities at the school for the community and used the money made in this way to fill the gaps left by an inadequate budget. Most of the beginning, first, and second grade students had Stern math blocks, and Cuisenaire rods were used with the older students in the math lab. The kindergarten featured puzzles and blocks and a special bilingual language program devised at the University of Michigan. In addition to the customary textbooks, children at the lower levels were working with the Miami Reading Series, those at the upper levels with the Sullivan Programmed Readers. Each teacher to whom we spoke was aware of the philosophy of the special programs he was using and knew what they were designed to do. The teachers that new programs were introduced by the principal in a series of meetings, and his constant follow-up was part of any new program. With two exceptions, teachers felt that every school should have a general structure in language and math, but that each teacher must have the freedom to suit the structure to his personality and class. Most teachers felt that Rock Point offered both the school-wide structure and the freedom to adapt.

Each core teacher above the kindergarten and beginners levels was responsible for all subjects, but did get help. Instead of being used in the graded classes, the bilingual aides were stationed in the library for programmed reading. For a half-hour each day each class went to the library, where the aides and the teacher, using the Sullivan programmed readers, heard individual pupils read aloud and answer questions from the workbooks. Pupils waiting for their turn to read to the teacher or an aide read or selected library books. Although twenty pupils were reading aloud simultaneously, it was possible to focus on individual pupils. Students asked questions when they did not understand a passage; aides explained in English, or, when necessary, in Navaho. For five minutes a day each child received individual instruction in reading from an adult.

In the math lab, daily for half an hour, students worked with math games, "Contact" or SRA kits, rods, and other new instructional devices. There was less individual attention given to students here, but much student interaction and mutual helping. Most conversation between students was in Navaho.

In rooms where the coordinate bilingual program was being used, Anglo teachers were given Navaho aides.[1] (There were no room mothers at Rock Point.) Often it was difficult to tell who was the teacher and who was the aide, for the aide was the teacher for the Navaho phase of the program. In one beginners class, with the help of the principal and with close cooperation between the aide and the teacher, the program was being run in fifteen-minute modules. One group of children would work at one end of the room, in English with the Anglo teacher, the other group at the opposite end of the room, covering the same material in Navaho, under the direction of the aide. At the end of each fifteen minutes, the groups would switch. The children were reminded that "in this part of the room we speak English; there, we talk Navaho." The effort and enthusiasm of the teacher and her aide apparently were transmitted to the children. This was one of the most exciting classrooms we had seen in years. At Rock Point, deliberate techniques were used to increase the children's attention span. When pupils became a bit restless, they were told, "Just two minutes more, and then we will have recess," or "When the clock looks like this pointing , you can go to lunch." The children couldn't tell time, but they would remind the teacher that the clock said it was time to get ready for lunch. We had never seen little children work so hard for so long without "nap time " or "snack time."

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[1] The basic idea of coordinate bilingualism is to give approximately equal time and emphasis to the two languages in the program while separating them from each other in terms of time, place, person, topic, or some other schema.

We were aware of a separation between desks occupied by boys and girls in the upper grades but not in the kindergarten, beginners, and primary grades. During the two meals at Rock Point when seating was voluntary, boys and girls tended to separate in the dining hall.

As an experimental BIA school, Rock Point offered a series of Demonstration Training Workshops in TESL to teachers in the Chinle agency. The workshops ran for a week. During that time teachers were introduced to many ways of organizing and using TESL. They were given an opportunity to construct a lesson and teach a class. Later an evaluation of the teaching was given by the classroom teacher and the directors of the workshop. The workshop last year induced two young teachers to come to Rock Point this year, and it would seem that the Rock Point faculty was almost hand-picked by the principal. All except the kindergarten teacher were experienced, several with more than three years on the faculty. The principal spoke Navaho, and most of the male teachers in the upper grades understood the language to some extent.

We were aware, particularly in the lower levels of the Rock Point program, of the influence of the Bereiter and Engleman philosophy, of curriculum cohesion, of recognition of urgent need. As the principal expressed it, "These children have so much to catch up on we can't waste a moment of classroom time." Teachers felt the same way. One observed, "Navaho children aren't afraid of work, if they know they are learning . . . Besides, it's better to start them out in a serious way, so by the time they get to third grade, they won't suddenly be hit by the fact that school-learning means work." All classes had three periods of TESL each day, in addition to regular reading exercises. One of our field workers commented, "This place sounds like a school," for voices of children echoed through the halls all day long. Unlike Rough Rock and Chinle, during free periods, recess, and dismissal times, children in the rooms would come up to the observer to show a paper, ask to have something checked, and tell what had been done the day before. At the dorm, the children frequently would tell what happened after the observer left the classroom.

With the exception of two teachers, one of whom left in December, we felt that the Rock Point staff had unusually strong belief in the competency and leadership of the principal. "No one works harder than he does!" was a common remark. Each classroom evidenced some structured program, even the one where the teacher told us that she was "ad libbing." The school-wide oral English program, daily visits by the TESL director or principal, and programmed reading and math lab periods, all insured some content presentation to all children. We were aware of much physical handling of children by the staff. Caressing, grasping by an arm, turning a head in the direction of the teacher, physically seating a wanderer, were used to capture and retain attention. The teaching staff insisted upon attention during any lesson which required a response from the child.[1] A good performance brought an immediate verbal reward. A mistake did not bring a "No," but rather, "I don't think that is right," and encouragement to try again.

At the upper grades when children did "tune out," they were given tools to excuse their inattention and allow them to re-participate gracefully. "I'm sorry, I've lost my place," or "Would you repeat that, please?" were used to save face, but laziness and rudeness brought swift retribution, particularly from the principal. One teacher reported, "_____________/the principal/ feels, and we all do, that if you give these kids responsibility and an understanding of what their duties are, they will perform." Another indicated, "_____________/the principal/ is the best teacher I've ever watched. He expects the kids to perform, and they know it, and they know there will be trouble if they don't. He expects and gets perfect attention from my class for the half hour each day he is in here for oral English."

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[1] Though the Phase I principal at Rough Rock felt that this constant calling for attention was "an Anglo ego-building device," we noted that Navaho teachers and aides at all three schools demanded attention from their pupils.

The older children at Rock Point were more responsive than those at Rough Rock or Chinle, though less responsive than most Anglo children of the same age. Each teacher was aware of how his program meshed with others. Some teachers maintained informal tutoring arrangements for groups of students needing help with math, reading, and science. Two teachers arranged to have students in the older class spend time after school listening to second grade brothers and sisters (actual or clan) reading and helping them with pronunciation.

There was much visiting between teachers during the hour after classes when teachers were still on duty. One informal meeting considered the topic of promotion. Several individuals argued that each grade should have very specific goals; they did not want children sent on until they had mastered the goals. Another meeting considered the objectives of the principal. "He wants new ideas. . . . Try new things in the classroom, but know why. . . . Don't be a "yes" man. . . . Your job, as far as he is concerned, is to teach English."

We did not expect to find the same kind of oral English program in the upper grades at Rock Point that was practiced in the lower grades. At Rough Rock we had been told that the drill phase of TESL was informally discontinued by the Phase II faculty because the older children thought it was "silly" and would not respond to the pattern drills. When we were told that such a program was conducted with the 13- and 14-year old children at Rock Point, we expected a "silly" reaction. We were mistaken. We saw a seriously executed oral pattern drill, with emphasis on expression and flow as well as on chain dialogues. When we questioned the teacher about the reaction of the class, he replied, "The principal took it seriously, other teachers took it seriously, and the kids did too."

In the area of social studies, we found a variety of topics being considered in the third, fourth, and fifth grade classes--lessons in community action, for example, with a reader and records which promoted a heated discussion in one class about how to deal with a dying community. Another topic concerned the industrial life of a city. While all of the rooms displayed some examples of the Navaho lifeway, we were unaware of any formal instruction in Navaho tradition and customs. We were told that Navaho story tellers performed in the dorms several times last year and once this year. Parents came to visit classes and talk with teachers on report card day. (All BIA boarding children write a letter home once a month which the school mails.) However, we did not see the number of adult Navahos in traditional clothing at Rock Point that we saw at Rough Rock.

The emphasis at Rock Point was on English. Students in the upper grades kept logs in which they were free to write anything they wished, so long as they wrote something each day. The logs were checked by the teachers but never marked. The few we examined had wild stories, nasty remarks about teachers and children, dreams, hopes, and other things one might find in any child's diary. There was a sense of controlled urgency at Rock Point. Teachers pushed the children and pushed themselves. Their engagement in a common task seemed to promote high morale in both groups.

The Chinle Boarding School

The Chinle Boarding School had no kindergarten program, and the beginners classes and grades one through three were organized in terms of the self-contained classroom. A Navaho art supervisor from the Chinle Agency office came about once a week to give instruction in art projects. The school had a library so small it could hardly accommodate a class, so most rooms had library books and magazines available for the children. At the upper levels--fourth through sixth--the program was departmentalized. The home-room teacher was responsible for the TESL program, art, and his own area of specialization. Children were grouped into grades homogeneously according to achievement test scores, and grouped again within grades into classes. For example, the 6:1 group of the five sixth-grade classes was the highest-achieving group. Because the seventh grade had been moved to the school at Many Farms, all three classroom buildings had empty rooms. (We used three of them to interview students.) Ordinarily these rooms were used as study halls by the fourth-through-sixth-grade pupils. The study periods could be used by students to go to the library or to study, or a home-room teacher might bring students into their study room for a tutoring session. During the time we were using the study rooms, the teachers kept the classes in their homerooms.

Supplies and other materials, with the exception of pencils, seemed barely adequate, and teachers rationed them carefully. The school had been equipped with special duplication devices and did many jobs for the community and the Chinle Agency office. Of the three boarding schools in our study, Chinle was the most elaborately decorated in terms of artwork, bulletin board displays, and teacher-made visuals. Each room had an AV cart with phonograph, overhead projecter, filmstrip projector, and a good supply of other audio visual devices, but we seldom saw the equipment used.

Most teachers did insist that boys' and girls' desks be intermingled, thus duplicating the required boy-girl-boy-girl pattern in the dining room. The girls at Chinle seemed more mature and aggressive in terms of boy-girl relationships than did pupils of the same age at Rough Rock and Rock Point. Chinle Boarding School teachers were more formally dressed than teachers at Rough Rock or Rock Point. Perhaps the more elaborate decorations and dress were in deference to many visitors who came over from the Chinle Agency office across the road, though Rough Rock teachers did not react to the public spotlight in this way. Teachers aides were available only in the beginners classes. No attempt was made to arrange the time schedule to permit the primary teachers to work with smaller groups.

In contrast to Rock Point, the sound emanating from Chinle classrooms at the upper levels was that of the teacher's voice. With the exception of the beginners classes, most students at Chinle seemed spectators rather than participants. Though the students were generally well behaved in class, we saw more silent expressions of hostility. We were told of more attempts, successful and unsuccessful, to hit teachers at Chinle than at the other two schools.

Though all classes at Chinle Boarding had an ESL period scheduled each day, much variety existed in the way the program was executed. The Navaho lady with years of experience who taught one of the beginners classes used many of the same techniques and oral patterns which were used by the Navaho teachers at Rough Rock. She demanded complete attention and frequently told the children that they had to "learn to listen." When children fidgeted or played with their hands or objects in their pockets, they were told, "Look at me," and "Work with your mouth, not with your hands." But the children in these classes seemed eager to learn, and teacher, aide, and class seemed to enjoy each other. The same demand for attention was made by the other Navaho teacher at the first grade level and by an Indian teacher at the second grade level. The impression projected by these three women, two older, one younger, was that children needed to be told what to do and were to listen while being told.

One of these three teachers stated she did not believe "that these children can perform on achievement tests unless what is on them /the tests/ is taught, and so that's what I stress, again and again, . . . I have administered the tests and I know what is on them, and you can't expect children to take a test on what has never been presented to them . . . I don't believe in this incidental learning thing. Children learn what they are taught and what they are drilled on. If you expect them to do anything on those tests--and supervisors do expect you to make a showing--then specifics have to be taught. I'm honest enough to admit it, and work hard at teaching it--which is more than I can say for other teachers . . ." Much emphasis was placed on memorization of songs, stories, poems, etc. Usually children were silent except when ordered to recite. Teachers in the second and third grades drilled students on recognition of geometric shapes. The higher the grade, the more the rote increased, and the less were children active participants. This trend was more evident at Chinle than at either of the other two boarding schools. In general, it seemed to us that the materials the older students were asked to recite were uninteresting. In response the students seemed to "tune out" the teachers. But one older teacher conducted an action-oriented TESL lesson with an upper level class that was most successful. However, she spoke a little Navaho, and was able to joke with her class and control their whispering in Navaho. One sixth grade teacher insisted that his students not speak Navaho, even when they assured him they were not talking about him. One English teacher conducted a twenty-minute language lesson without once having a pupil speak, and then gave them a writing assignment. When several asked for help, she indicated that they could "read the directions."

Chinle lacked the sense of urgency that characterized Rock Point. In one third-grade class observed, a half-hour TESL lesson was conducted and then the children spent two and a half hours copying pictures they had drawn the day before, while the teacher made decorations for the Christmas tree in the room. More of the same was promised for the afternoon.

Several male teachers in grades four through six had developed excellent rapport with small groups of boys, and they had none of the discipline problems which led one fourth-grade teacher, as an instance, to beat two boys with a stick until an administrator stopped her. However, several of these men delivered the most illogical and uninformed lectures the observer had ever heard. Several upper grade teachers, upon reading the observer's notes, were amused to discover that much was going on in their classrooms without their awareness--random activity of students who appeared bored or even alienated by what was offered to them as instruction. It should be emphasized that none of these people were malicious, but friendly, courteous, and open. They simply had low expectations for their students. The lack of learning was the fault of the child. As one teacher remarked in a note to the observer, "At this time of year, with the Christmas Holidays fast approaching, the children are less interested in school, or very excited about being able to go home for holidays. It is very hard to get any kind of attention from them. That /sic/ the reason for "Cats Cradle" etc." This teacher was the only one we were aware of who was using Navaho as a teaching tool in her classroom. The children would help her with her Navaho between visits of the teacher intern who was actually doing the formal instruction in Navaho literacy.

One of the Chinle administrators remarked, "They have a pretty good faculty this year . . . we got rid of all the rebels last year." It was our impression that the school needed a few rebellious boat-rockers more than anything else. Problems seemed largely ignored. The principal was a man of good will, just and considerate in the eyes of the teachers, but bureaucratic paperwork and Chinle's tall hierarchy apparently insulated him from the concerns of the faculty. The two assistant principals in charge of curriculum likewise were sincere men. One was attempting to gather information on curriculum materials and the scope and sequence of programs and materials, but the press of other business kept him from doing more than accumulating information. The basic assumption, apparently, was that the teachers, all professionals with civil service ratings, would perform as the curriculum guide directed, and in so doing they would meet the needs of children.

One of the teachers who left Chinle to go to Rock Point said he moved because Chinle was too big and presented no challenge He came to Rock Point to work with the principal, he said, "to pick his brain," to get the guidance in classroom techniques he was not getting at Chinle. He commented on the docility of the Chinle students, who could respond with more than one-word answers in the dorm, but not in any class we observed except those with Navaho teachers at the beginners and first grade level, or with Anglo teachers who knew Navaho at the upper levels.

It seemed to us that students who were hightly motivated and had developed good study habits could probably benefit from the existing program in the upper grades at Chinle. But for the sake of most pupils in the school, the eagerness we found in the beginners classes should be preserved through all the elementary school years.

It must be mentioned that classroom observations at Chinle were done during a period somewhat unfavorable to sustained classroom activities, that is, the last ten days before the Christmas holiday. It became clear that the teachers we observed had anticipated our visit, knew of our stay at Rough Rock and Rock Point, and were aware, in addition, of the emphasis at both schools on language programs. Though we often came into the room during a seatwork period or writing exercise, shortly thereafter the children would be called upon to perform, some in TESL fashion, others in the classical tradition of the recitation, or in answers to questions posed by the teacher.

Attention was given to math concepts or arithmetic in all of the primary classes. The beginners were writing and identifying numbers from one to ten; the first graders were concentrating on the number of days in a week, a month, a year;

the second and third grade students were given drills in the identification of geometric shapes and in the concept of fractions--for example, one-half, one-third, one-fourth of a sphere. In one second-grade classroom children were eagerly competing to see who could finish column-addition problems first. Those who made errors were called to the board to work several similar problems. The older, more experienced teacher in the second grade introduced the children to the concept of a foot by giving each of them a ruler to hold, finger, play with. After pointing out the inch divisions, she had them make a calender, five inches by seven inches, for December, so they would know how many days remained before Christmas. They were told to take the calendar home so they would know what day to return to school. Third-grade children were working in arithmetic computation workbooks called Seeing Through Arithmetic. One fourth-grade teacher said math was usually taught in the morning, but because of the approaching holiday, and because the children did so well, this period was being used to make decorations and to learn holiday songs. The departmentalized fourth-through-sixth-grade classes had fifty minutes of math each day, and much time was spent on drill. Modern math and set theory were introduced agency-wide about four years ago, and all teachers at Chinle reportedly were using these concepts in math lessons.

Bilingual Education*

by Oswald Werner
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
Northwestern University

In undertaking this assignment, I flew from Chicago to Phoenix, Arizona, and immediately went by private car to Flagstaff. There I was hoping to interview Mr. Irvy Goossen (author of Navaho Made Easier) about his program in which Navaho students standardize the orthography of various published Navaho textual materials. Unfortunately we failed to connect (the program apparently did not materialize), and I went on to Kayenta, where I was hoping to see the Navaho literacy program in the public school. It turned out that the program consisted of literacy in Navaho after literacy in English and consisted of instruction by an Anglo teacher twice a week. I spent Monday and Tuesday interviewing and observing at RRDS (the Rough Rock Demonstration School). I was assisted in this task by Mr. Kenneth Y. Begishe, who interviewed all Navaho teachers in Navaho after my interview in English. His main concern was evaluating proficiency in Navaho. (Mr. Begishe has collaborated with me for nine years. He is currently employed by Northwestern University and is a member of the school board at Shonto, Arizona.) We interviewed every Navaho teacher present in the school (one, Mrs. Wallace, was out of town). Wednesday morning we visited Rock Point School and interviewed some children (see below). We returned in the afternoon to RRDS and continued our interviews there. I left for Chicago, via Gallup, that evening.

We observed specifically the following classes: Mr. Platero's evening class on Navaho Government, Miss Sisney's ESL class, and Mr. Draper's class in adult education. Other classes we observed more casually, usually before the teacher's interview.

Our schedule was obviously cramped.

The interviews were held with eight children at RRDS and ten at Rock Point (we asked for eight): four from the lower grades who had spent their entire schooling at RRDS and a comparable group of five at Rock Point; and four (five) out of the highest comparable grade with Rock Point (the sixth). In order to bias our sample in the fairest possible manner, we asked in both schools for the four "brightest" children in each class. The interview consisted primarily of evaluating the children's understanding of the following definition (adapted from Webster's Collegiate Dictionary): "A unicorn is an animal of the fairy tales. It looks like a horse and has a horn in the middle of its forehead."

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*Condensed from a longer report submitted by Professor Werner. His interview notes are reproduced in Appendix C.

We asked questions like "what does a unicorn look like? How many horns does it have? Where is its horn? What is a fairy tale?" The test was less than successful. Children who did not respond to the English version responded equally negatively to the all Navaho version. Monosyllabic answers were preferred in both schools. One girl at Rock Point knew what a unicorn was. One boy at RRDS, we suspect, knew this too.

I have known and visited RRDS since February of 1968, at which time I first became involved with the school's Navaho literacy program. I visited RRDS several times between then and September, 1968, during my stay in the field. Mr. Witherspoon, formerly of the RRDS staff, and Mrs. Wallace, currently a teacher at RRDS, are personal friends. My daughter Deborah was a volunteer in the Black Mountain Kitsilie Shepherd School. All these visits were unofficial. Most people at RRDS were unaware of my presence. I have met Robert Roessel once, at which time we exchanged pleasantries, soon after which he departed. I didn't meet Dillon Platero, the current RRDS director, until the first conference on RRDS called by Professor Erickson, in October, 1968. I visited RRDS in the Fall of 1968 and consulted with them again on Navaho literacy. In this report I have used some knowledge gained during my first and second consultation at RRDS (e.g., the evaluation of Mrs. Wallace's teaching of Navaho literacy).

Justifications for Bilingual Education

Regardless of one's stand on the issue of how or with whom Navaho children are competing, there is increasingly compelling evidence that the best predictor of success in the national language is mastery of the native language.[1]

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[1] H. Singer, "Bilingualism and Elementary Education," Modern Language Journal, Vol. 40, pp. 444-458.

Some degree of bilingual education can be justified on the grounds that being exposed to two lexically, syntactically, and phonologically coded systems provides the student, in a sense, with stereo (binocular, binaural) vision of his and the second language he is acquiring.[1] A bilingual school, however, goes far beyond "some degree" of bilingualism:

A bilingual school is a school which uses, concurrently, two languages as medium of instruction in any portion of the curriculum (except the languages themselves).[2] In this sense the only bilingual school on the Navaho Indian Reservation or in Indian Education is at Rough Rock Demonstration school. This is a fact totally independent of what RRDS does, or how well it does it, or how well other Indian schools do, whatever they are doing. "The teaching of a vernacular solely as a bridge to another, the official language is not bilingual education in the above sense, nor is ordinary Teaching English as a Second Language."[3]

Bilingual education tries to capitalize on the natural ability of the child to learn languages easily. The young child learns a second language quickly and effectively if it is an unavoidable means to his full time involvement in all the affairs of his life. Much less than full time involvement will suffice for him to learn the new language.[4] The optimum time for the child's involvement in the learning of a second language is not known. Short periods must be programmed sufficiently close to each other to be reinforcing. At the Miami Corral Way School the schedule through the sixth grade is as indicated in Fig. 5.1. This schedule compares favorably with the proposed bilingual schedule for Rough Rock (Fig. 5.2).

Every effort should be made to provide education in the native language. Students should start their schooling in the medium which they understand best. Adding the native language to the curriculum is the only safe measure to avoid the intellectual retardation observed in children ~~with a~~ second-language handicap.[1] The age between five and seven, sometimes extended to three to eight,[2] is crucial for intellectual development because the child learns increasingly to use his language for problem solving tasks. One of the strongest justifications of bilingual education is to keep one intellectual channel patent while the other one is developed. This is another way of saying that the child's progress should be from the known to the unknown. It makes no sense to knock his props out before he has a strong foothold. This is perhaps most crucial in the span of years mentioned above. After this age, the social functions of the native language may increasingly become the deciding justification for the continued maintenance of bilingual education throughout the educational process. This is properly recognized by the newly established Navaho Community College and its program to teach Navaho on the college level, even to Navahos who have apparently lost their ability to speak Navaho.

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[1] E. Fishman, "The Implications of Bilingualism for Language Teaching and Language Learning," in A. Valdman, ed., Trends in Language Teaching (McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 122-132.

[2] F. Gaardner, "Organization of the Bilingual School," in T. Mac Namara, ed., Problems of Bilingualism; Journal of Social Issues, Vol 23, 1967, pp. 110-120.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 120.

For the primary and pre-primary child, problem solving in the second, weaker language is more difficult. The most conclusive demonstration comes from Irish schools observed by MacNamara.[3] Children with English as their first language subjected to Irish Gaelic instruction had greater difficulty solving arithmetical problems presented verbally. Their mechanical ability to calculate did not seem to suffer. The often mentioned ability of Navaho students to spell well may not be due to the acuteness of their visual memory. It may simply be an overcompensation for the absence of intellectual involvement by success in a mechanical task. Navaho secretaries who can spell individual words consistently well are often unable to detect simple ungrammatical English sentences (personal observation).

Individual ability for second language learning seems to vary, and proficiency in a second language may suffer by transfer to contexts outside of the classroom. The loss of highly proficient English by Navahos under stress, e.g., hospitalization, illness, etc., has been widely observed by health personnel: doctors (e.g., Dr.

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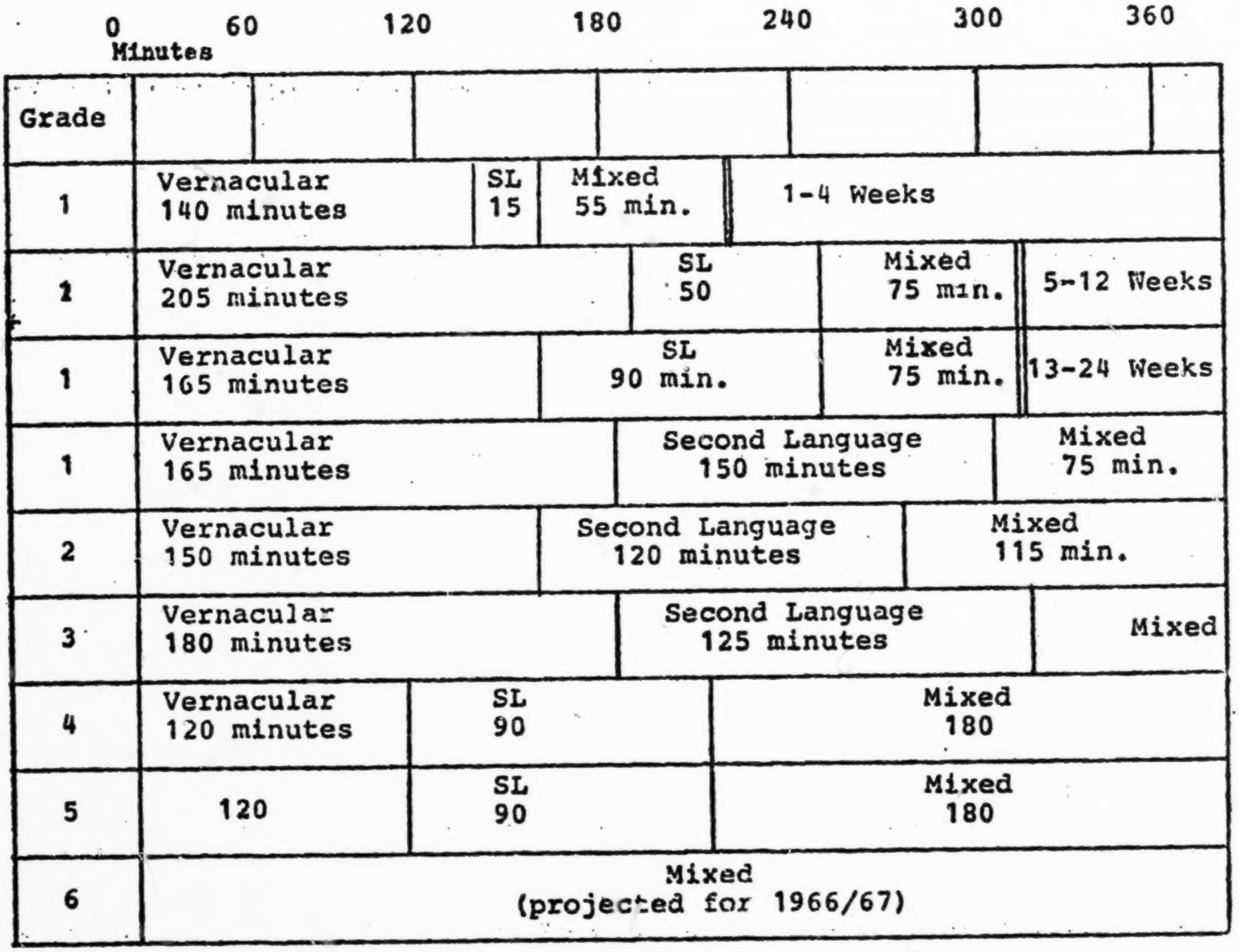
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 110

[2] MacNamara, *op. cit.*; S. H. White, "Evidence for a Hierarchal Arrangement of Learning Processes;" in L. P. Lipsitt and C. C. Spiker, eds., *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, Vol. II (Academic Press, 1965).

[3] MacNamara, *op. cit.*



Vernacular and second language (S.L) mean the use of these as mediums of instruction. Mixed in grades 1-3 means physical education, art and music only. In grades 4-6 mixed also means combined classes of Anglos and Cubans alternating 3 weeks of each grading period working through English only, and 3 weeks working through Spanish only, in all subjects. (Gaarder 1967:114)

Fig. 5.1 Time Distribution for Bilingual Education, Coral Way Elementary School

Years in School	NAVAHO		ENGLISH		Age
1	Spoken		Spoken		4-5
2	Written and Spoken		"		5-6
3	"	"	"		6-7
4	"	"	"		7-8
5	Spoken and Written		Spoken and Written		8-9
6	"	"	"	"	9-10
7	"	"	"	"	10-11
8	"	"	"	"	11-12
9	"	"	"	"	12-13

In comparison to Gaarder's graph the estimated time distribution 2/3 Navaho and 1/3 English for the first four grades and a 1/3, 2/3 flip for grades 5-9 for RRDS is, if anything conservative. (Plattero 1968:48-49).

Fig. 5.2 Proposed Time Distribution for Bilingual Education, Rough Rock Demonstration School

Edward Kompare, SUD USPHS Clinic, Kayenta, Arizona), and nurses (Mrs. June Werner, R.N., School Nurse 1967-68, Kayenta, Public School; both personal communication) and rescuers (personal observation). The Navaho youngster who has mastered neither language after prolonged schooling away from home (observed 30 years ago among the Menominee by L. Bloomfield; C. F. Voegelin; personal communication) may be emotionally handicapped beyond what we dare imagine. His state must be comparable to the sense of isolation Berlitz students feel and under which 30 per cent break down when exposed to the total immersion method of language learning.

"One of the best established findings of educational research is that a major source of variation in pupil learning is the teacher's ability to promote learning."[1] The bilingual teacher has a very simple basic unassailable advantage over the weaker second language: he can make himself understood and promote intellectual learning. I suggest anyone doubting this assertion should try to learn Navaho.

That Navaho is a difficult language to learn is acknowledged by all who have tried as well as the experts (note the title of Goodsen's book: "Navaho Made Easier"--not "Navaho Made Easy"!)[2] This fact should remind us that language difficulty is usually reciprocal: English is about as difficult for Navahos (see life history in Sapir & Hoijer).[3] This makes a bilingual education especially crucial for Navahos. The channel of intellectual communication must be kept patent.

A UNESCO commission has recommended "every effort should be made to provide education in the mother tongue. . . pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best, and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the breakdown between home and school as small as possible" (emphasis added).[4] The community involvement of Navaho parents has never been high. Every traditional parent I have talked to during the last ten years has lamented the fact that the schools alienate the children from their parents.

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[1] J. B. Carroll, "Wanted: A Research Basis for Educational Policy on Foreign Language Teaching," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 30, 1960, pp. 128-140.

[2] I. Goosen, Navaho Made Easier (Northland Press, 1967).

[3] E. Sapir and H. Hoijer, Navaho Texts (LSA, 1945).

[4] UNESCO, "The Use of the Vernacular Language in Education," Monograph of Fundamental Education, 1953.

The assimilationist pol[illegible] had its community dimension. I[illegible]licitly at least, it was assumed that by severing the children from their social and cultural heritage change would automatically take place. Anthropological research since 1945 has clearly shown that this is a false assumption. Social and cultural change must be carried out by the majority of the adult population.[1] We can see the principle clearly reflected on our college campuses. Unless the administration and faculty are ready to change the students are unable to achieve anything but havoc.

Language and culture are so closely associated in every society that it is difficult to conceive of taking someone's culture seriously without paying attention to his language. But this is precisely the case with monolingual or near-monolingual English curricula of "cultural enrichment" dealing with Navaho culture and history. To the child nothing is more Navaho than his native language. To teach Navaho culture and history without taking the Navaho language very seriously is to mock the student's intelligence. He knows very well that speaking Navaho annoys most Anglos for whatever irrational reasons. How would we feel if someone suggested that although our culture and history is valuable, English must be replaced by Chinese? Can we imagine the history of the English speaking peoples without the speaking of English?

For effective education the native language of the students must be taken as seriously as the national language: that is, the full impact of bilingual education supports a strong program in literacy in the native language, mastery of the native language and instruction in the native culture and social living.

Bilingualism at Rough Rock

Programs of bilingual education and Navaho literacy at Rough Rock were started in the upper grades and lower grades with an emphasis on introducing Navaho after literacy was acquired through English. Paul Platero was an excellent teacher. Mrs. Laura Peshlakai Wallace floundered at first (Spring, 1968) but did exceptionally well when we observed her last fall (1968). The lack of materials is felt very strongly. RRDS has poor duplicating facilities. Books like Ken Behishe's translation of Dr. Zim''s "What's inside of Me" were not in circulation, in part because the dittoing was often illegible. The tendency of teachers (especially Navaho teachers) to withdraw under stress created problems, since little of the cumulative experience was exchanged. The principal had failed to create a non-threatening atmosphere of give and take of experience and sharing of materials. In part at least this is understandable since I suspect that at this point the teacher's control of Navaho literacy is better than the principal's control. This is more an indictment of pervious Navaho education than of the principal. Unless one attached him or herself to the Mormon church or a select group of Protestant churches, education in Navaho literacy was and still is hard to come by. Adult Navaho who are literate in English have a difficult time unlearning the non-phonemic spelling habits drilled into them in English. (See first paragraph on p. 5.32).

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[1] Margaret Mead, Old Lives for New (1953).

Another part of the problem was perhaps that RRDS launched the bilingual and literacy programs with great optimism, underestimating the difficulties. This could have been a mistake, but I don't think it was. My casual comparison between October, 1968, and January, 1969, implies that the gamble was worth while. There is no evidence that the children have suffered; to the contrary, several of the teachers who were unconvinced in October, 1968, are now enthusiastically behind the program and even concede that the children may be ahead in reading skills. Someone needs to point out to the teachers that this in itself, considering the lack of precedence and the lack of materials, is a tremendous achievement (the children can sound out complex Navaho words well). The bilingual teachers in my estimation are all intelligent women; several may even be extraordinary. If Laura Peshlakai Wallace's self-assurance and effectiveness could increase as much as it did between my first visit (in February, 1968) and October, 1968 (I did not see her in January, 1968--she was out of town), and with the implementation of the primers now in preparation by the Navaho Curriculum Center, next year should be a success.

Navaho Social Living

There was a tremendous turnover of teachers in this program, partly perhaps because it was naively assumed that any one who was a Navaho could ipso facto teach a course on Navaho culture. The teaching itself and the heavy load could have all been stressful. Milton Bluehouse worked hard and enthusiastically. His outlines are still around. So did Clark Atsitty, although he seemed to have problems in communicating with the older Navahos when he tried to collect legends. Ken Begishe claims Atsitty's questioning of older Navahos was too direct and not sufficiently roundabout.

The concern that, due to lack of coordination, needless repetitions occurred is probably well founded, although some repetition at different levels is unavoidable (the spiral theory of instruction).

The recently established curriculum committee on integrated social studies is an important and good step forward. The planned integration with the rest of the social science curriculum is the best approach to the problem yet.

ESL (English as a Second Language)

Dr. Robert Wilson's approach to ESL at UCLA is very good. He taught Mrs. Virginia Hoffman, RRDS specialist in ESL last year. Her handbook, Oral English at Rough Rock, is very thorough, but tends to be too difficult to follow because it is so detailed. Reedited as a reference work to Navaho ESL, it may be more useful. ESL (i.e., the audio-lingual approach now popular on the Reservation), like other instructional methods, is unfortunately not a panacea to Indian educational problems. The RRDS bilingual approach needs special implementation of the audio-lingual approach by other methods (e.g., meaning-translation). The teacher's complaints (and students' complaints too) about the dullness and repetitiveness of ESL is serious too. This latter charge is, by the way, applicable to the ESL approach everywhere.

Testing students' performance in second language proficiency is an extremely complicated task. While most of the literature talks about linguistically adequate testing, there is relatively little talk about sociolinguistically adequate testing, that is, testing geared to the experimental fact that social context affects competence.

A Comparison of Pupils

The English of pupils in an open ended casual interview (see methods described earlier) seems roughly comparable at RRDS with Rock Point. The RRDS children's response is very Navaho: often less than a whisper. The Rock Point children respond louder and clearer, almost in American Middle class fashion. The main difference in the English of the two schools seems to be loudness. The higher performance demands (and/or the Bereiter-Engelman method?) placed on the Rock Point children may be responsible for this. The loudness carries over into speaking Navaho with strangers. Nevertheless the RRDS children seemed on the whole a bit more willing to speak Navaho. Both groups of children liked the teaching of Navaho in school. One child in each group had negative feelings about the Navaho language.

I have no way of judging that allegedly the level of the eight grade at Rough Rock is comparable to sixth grade elsewhere. I found the English banter (joking is certainly a mark of language proficiency) in Platero's evening class refreshingly fluent and spontaneous.

Miss Sisney's ESL class was fun for the children and generally well done.

The Navaho Curriculum Center

The Center has produced three books (Black Mountain Boy, Coyote Stories, and Grandfather Stories). A book on Navaho History is in preparation. All these books were in English. In retrospect this lopsided production of books in English when the crying need is for books in Navaho is understandable as a cultural survival. I do not understand the natural development of ideas at RRDS, but it seems that the whole notion of a truly bilingual-bicultural education evolved gradually. The re-adaptation of Black Mountain Boy into Navaho and the preparation of the Navaho primers is a step in the right direction. It also seems to indicate a more radical change in the orientation of RRDS than any of its previous programs.

Recommendations for Bilingual Education and Navaho Literacy

In terms of teacher's opinions, the program is a success. The program proposal for bilingual education recently submitted by RRDS to the Office of Education is in my opinion one of the best proposals I have ever seen. The preliminary versions of the Navaho primer being developed by the Navaho Curriculum Center have successfully taken over some of Mr. Begishe's and my experiences in teaching literacy to Navahos and have expanded and improved on these ideas significantly.

However, I feel that the teachers were not sufficiently involved in the design of the program. In both programs it will be necessary to draw the teachers out so that they become free to share their experiences in the classroom and learn from each other. Learning from each other appears to me to be more important in a pioneering effort like this one than the opinions of many experts.

Recommendations for ESL

More scientific knowledge of the structure of the Navaho language is necessary, for example, to assess the order of difficulty of English exercises in the ESL programs for Navaho children. We do not know enough about Navaho to even guess intelligently. This is true of all ESL programs on the Reservation.

The nature of ESL for a bilingual program needs to be evaluated and expanded to include the specialized requirements. Meaning-translation excercises have to be brought up to date and included as part of ESL.

The chief problem of Indian education in the past was that it discouraged translation and Interpretation. Audio-lingual ESL perpetuates this approach. There is a desperate need for interpreting Anglo culture to mature Navahos and Navaho culture to Anglos. Some parents have already noted the willingness of RRDS children to interpret. This trend must be encouraged. Nothing else will bring the Navahos smoothly into the 21st Century.

Recommendations for the Navaho Curriculum Center and Navaho Social Living Classes

The curriculum center must concentrate on turning out reading materials for children in Navaho. Employment of a Navaho creative writer should be considered. The creative writer should be aided by a research department for search of the extensive literature about the Navaho (possibly this could be done with co-op students.) The Center should be in the center of the current plans for tightening the curriculum. Teachers should be more involved with the curriculum center. Even lightening teaching loads for teachers willing to do creative writing in Navaho should be considered. All existing texts in Navaho must be collected in a more systematic fashion. Many of these sources may not be the best, but they will have to do until better materials are created.

The reissue of the Franciscan Father's Ethnologic Dictionary and other Navaho classics may be worth considering, but since all anthropological materials were collected and written by and for Anglos, all need radical editing, updating and adapting to the special needs of the Navaho children.

RRDS and the Navaho Curriculum Center need a multilith or similar high quality duplicator for experimental editions. Children have a hard enough time learning to read without the impediment of virtually illegible materials. It would be premature to rush these into regular offset or letter press printing.

(This is the end of Professor Werner's report. Our conclusions, based on the two reports provided in this chapter, begin on the following page.)

Conclusions and Recommendations

Some of the best instruction we have seen anywhere was occurring at Rough Rock, in one or two classes taught by Navaho teachers at the primary level. Rough Rock was experimenting with unusually promising techniques of bilingual education. Its efforts to introduce Navaho elements into the curriculum must be regarded as significant steps into an essentially unexplored area. The teaching of arithmetic appeared to be a strong point of the regular academic program.

As in the dormitory program, some areas could be identified for strengthening. There was general need for school-wide planning, articulation, and methodical follow-through. This theme, as chapter 6 will demonstrate, emerged persistently in informal discussions with teachers, in teacher interviews, and in teacher questionnaires, as well. We felt that some of the lack of planning and structure may have resulted from a misconception of nongrading. Properly understood, nongrading is not merely a matter of grouping pupils heterogeneously, but a different approach to curriculum planning and execution. In the words of the nation's leading exponents of the concept, "To move into a nongraded plan without simultaneously or subsequently giving attention to fundamental questions of school function, curriculum design, teaching, and evaluation is to court chaos, or, at best, to create a school that is nongraded in name only."[1]

It should be noted, in this connection, that teachers apparently had not participated in planning done in the past. According to Professor Werner's report and interview notes, for instance, a high proportion of teachers responsible for Navaho elements of the curriculum had serious questions about the amount of Navaho language that should be included, and there were indications that they had merely been told what must be done. There is evidence in the research literature that the nature and quality of instruction is difficult to control in this way. If teachers do not participate in planning, see the relevance of what they are doing, and understand the logic behind the techniques applied, there is little likelihood that instructional experiments will succeed.

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[1] John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, "Educational Practices in Nongraded Schools: A Survey of Perceptions," Elementary School Journal, LXIII (October, 1962), 33-40; cf. Robert H. Anderson and John I. Goodlad, "Self-Appraisal in Nongraded Schools: A Survey of Findings and Perceptions," Elementary School Journal, LXII (February, 1962), 261-69.

With the exception of the very significant experimentation mentioned earlier, we thought the classrooms at Rough Rock were basically conventional, particularly in the upper grades. According to teachers in the four schools we studied, Navaho pupils had special problems, special ways of perceiving the world, and special abilities and aptitudes. They seemed, for example, to be particularly adept at visualizing spatially, and their manual dexterity was generally remarkable. (According to recent research, ethnic groups may be characterized by unique ability profiles astonishingly resistant to change.)[1] We think unusual instructional approaches may be needed for these children, even beyond bilingualism and the teaching of Navaho culture. Some special emphasis on art, for instance, seems particularly warranted. During 1968-69, there was no art teacher on the faculty.

A number of Rough Rock teachers evidenced lack of acquaintance with commonly utilized techniques for maintaining classroom order, detecting lack of pupil attention, determining that pupils were comprehending, and introducing difficult concepts. Few teachers exhibited knowledge of how a classroom aide could be put to good use. To say this is not to question the intelligence of these people. Neither do we censure the school for hiring inexperienced, untrained teachers, as data in chapter 6 will suggest it was doing. An experimental school may need staff members who are unspoiled by exposure to customary modes of instruction. But its task, then, is to provide some training of its own. The classroom observations suggest that in-service training was deficient at Rough Rock, a possibility that we will explore further in chapter 6. Numerous teachers expressed lack of confidence and desire for training in the teaching of reading. Few teachers in the upper grades seemed confidently in control of their classrooms and capable of sustaining pupil interest. Part of the problem was attributable, we felt, to ambiguity concerning the support that could be expected from administrators. Some instruction-oriented facilities were substandard, it would seem--such as the library, with its modest budget slashed 50 per cent and the duplicating equipment in the Navaho Curriculum Center. Some very expensive equipment was entirely unused, such as the close-circuit television system. Some classes were being held in make-do rooms. There was lack of systematic provision, at times, for ensuring that pupils would show up at all their classes and arrive on time. When teachers needed help, we saw few provisions that would make it easy and unembarrassing for them to request it and get it. The assistance they were obtaining from the Navaho Curriculum Center was negligible. With the exception of the "self-evaluation" that was beginning when we left Rough Rock in early December, 1968, we saw no provisions for determining, other than through informal teacher and administrator reactions, what programs in the school were effective or ineffective.

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[1] Susan S. Stodolsky and Gerald Lesser, "Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged," Harvard Educational Review, Fall, 1967, pp. 546-593.

Beyond these general comments, we think it inappropriate, as scholars whose contact with Navaho education was relatively brief, to specify in detail what was strong or weak about instructional programs at Rough Rock. Furthermore, the school had not gathered the longitudinal data needed for such assessments. To determine these strengths and weaknesses, Rough Rock needs the "sound, action oriented research studies" that it identified in its original proposal as "the most important part of the demonstration school." It seemed to us that Rough Rock's teachers possessed many insights into the needs and capabilities of Navaho youngsters that could be incorporated into school-wide instructional plans. The school board itself, or committees of parents, could be used at points to explore curriculum goals and to analyze the reactions of children. Our essential thesis, in summary, is this: To develop the special instructional mix needed at Rough Rock will require a great deal of energy and thought in concert on the part of teachers, administrators, Navaho laymen, and occasionally, visiting consultants. Programs will have to be devised, and continuously evaluated and refined, for the most part on the spot. Our recommendations spring from this central conviction:

1. A system of continuous curriculum planning and evaluation should be instituted immediately at Rough Rock. The recent "self-evaluation" was a good beginning, but should be broadened in scope and should involve local Navahos.

Curriculum discussions should include teachers, administrators, board members, parents, and to some extent outside consultants. The process should be part of each teacher's function and calculated as part of his "load."

2. The guidelines of a planned curriculum, when developed, should not be so specific as to preclude adaptation in individual classrooms to the varying needs of pupils and the differential styles of teachers.

3. If Rough Rock cannot employ an individual competent to design and execute action research in the classrooms and dormitories, it should contract with some competent scholar, group of scholars, or appropriate institution (a regional educational laboratory, perhaps) for the specialized help it needs to determine the success of various approaches to instruction, socialization, and child care.

4. Since availability of resources is often critical in educational experimentation, budgeting for instruction should be considered an integral part of the curriculum-planning process. When funds are budgeted and officially allocated to instruction by the board, they should not be subject to reallocation by administrators to other purposes (chapter 6 cites evidence that this may have occurred in the past).

5. The curriculum-planning process should include specification of the physical facilities, equipment, and materials needed for contemplated programs. Provision of these desiderata should be considered an essential aspect of activating the programs. We are sure, for example, that more adequate duplicating facilities will be needed for producing instructional materials, and probably much larger outlays will be called for in the library.

6. As part of the curriculum-planning process, a systematic program of pre- and in-service training for teachers should be devised, instituted, and continuously reevaluated. (Further consideration is given to training programs in chapter 6).

7. The Navaho Curriculum Center should be redesignated as a general curriculum center and assigned the task of acquiring or producing whatever materials are specified for use through the curriculum-planning process. It should be staffed, equipped, and financed accordingly. Redesignation of the center would not necessarily mean de-emphasis on Navaho materials, since these are likely for some time to be a primary need at Rough Rock, but it is clear that a curriculum center is required

for instructional programs generally. Consideration should be given to making the center directly responsible to the curriculum-planning group, perhaps through its chairman or executive secretary.

8. When complicated equipment (closed-circuit television, for example) is acquired or reactivated as a result of the curriculum-planning process, school administrators should accept responsibility for having it regularly serviced and efficiently maintained.

9. As part of the planning process, specific, operational policies on discipline, pupil absences, pupil grouping, pupil promotion, reporting to parents, and related issues should be developed. They should then be supported consistently by school administrators, dormitory officials, and all other employees of the school.

10. A properly executed program of continuous curriculum planning and evaluation may require the full-time attention of a chairman or executive secretary. Perhaps the chief executive of the planning group should simultaneously head the curriculum center. It may make sense to create an office of research and development. Staffed by a highly competent director and several assistants, it could perform the functions of designing and executing action research, organizing and maintaining processes of planning for classrooms and dormitories, and, as a replacement for the Navaho Curriculum Center,purchasing, adapting, or creating the instructional materials identified through planning as needed in the school. By abolishing the position of dormitory-school coordinator (which should be superfluous if proper programs are maintained), the position of "book writer," the office of "evaluator," the curriculum center as currently constituted, and one of the two school principalships, the school could develop a well staffed office of research and development without incurring extra costs.

11. Careful attention should be given to the fact that Rough Rock's enrollment has outgrown the instructional facilities. Either admissions should be curtailed or steps should be taken to provide the needed classrooms. The curriculum planning group should develop the education specifications for any new instructional facilities.

CHAPTER 6

TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS AND CONCERNS

We have given attention to Rough Rock's school board, parents, community development efforts, dormitories, and instructional programs. In the chapter on dormitories we considered numerous perceptions and characteristics of workers in that area. The passages that follow focus primarily on teachers, though some consideration is directed to administrators, and to a limited extent, other employees of the school.

Since we must examine at some length the reports of staff members themselves, some caveats should be emphasized. As many researchers have discovered, the comments individuals make about their administrators and organizations are often distorted by attitudes and misperceptions. We mentioned earlier several conditions that might make personnel more caustic at Rough Rock than elsewhere. Other likely sources of bias are easy to identify. Rough Rock was more isolated than the other three schools. One could never assume that when irritations mounted he would jump into a car and escape for a while, for the road might be impassible. The founder had resigned--the man who had envisioned the school, organized it, found money for it, and publicized it far and wide. Some people, believing he had deserted them, might feel justified in "working him over" verbally. Tensions are always present when experiments are launched and reassuring structures removed. When too much is changed at once, as two recent reports suggest, the confusion and unpredictability may become so unbearable that an organization practically disintegrates.[1] During the first two years, perhaps, the staff was buoyed by the leader's charisma, the flush of a new adventure, swarms of enthusiastic visitors, and plaudits in the press. Now was the time to settle down, to stop ad libbing and face the music, to iron out the kinks, to promote less and administer more, to end the honeymoon and work out some adjustments. And beyond these special circumstances, insecurities are almost always created by administrative succession. We are speculating, of course, but with a purpose: to emphasize that information in this chapter must be interpreted with care.

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[1] Paul Lauter, "The Short, Happy Life of the Adams-Morgan Community School Project," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Spring, 1968), 235-262; Louis M. Smith and Pat M. Keith, Social-Psychological Aspects of School Building Design, Final Report, Project No. S. 223, Bureau of Research, U. S. Office of Education, 1967.

One phenomenon that we detected at Rough Rock is particularly relevant here. When planning the study, we regretted that it had not been launched months earlier, while the first director of the school was still in office. It would be difficult, we thought, to discover much about the school's functioning during the first two years. In some respects, that prediction was substantiated, but in talking with staff members during November and December, we encountered strong indications that, in their minds, the school was in a limbo between two worlds. Changes made by the new director thus far were not viewed as decisive. Hopes were expressed, but virtually no one seemed willing to predict what policies would be pursued in the future. In some respects, however, staff members habitually differentiated the perceived approaches of the two administrators. ("When Bob was here, . . . but now that Dillon is the director, . . .") A very high proportion of teachers said they were not sure they would remain at Rough Rock; it all depended on how things went "under Dillon." Could he be sufficiently assertive? As a Navaho, would he discriminate against Anglos? What would be his policies in numerous areas of teacher concern? They were still waiting to see when we left the school early in December. When we returned briefly in January, as chapter 8 will indicate in more detail, much of the uncertainty seemed to have gone. Apparently new policies and procedures had been established firmly. The school had acquired a sense of direction. For our purposes, the timing was fortunate. From the standpoint of the staff, the long period of uncertainty must have been exasperating. It is not surprising that personnel, when questioned during that period, made bitter comments about their school, as later data will show.

The following discussions about teachers are the result of two approaches to data-acquisition. The first, informal and unstructured, was the "live-in" described in chapter 1. Many conversations were held with staff members at Rough Rock and the other boarding schools. The assistant director of the study, particularly, came to know many of these people as friends, especially at Rough Rock, during thirty days spent there. Discussions were held after the classroom observations discussed in chapter 5. Teachers voiced their concerns at the lunch table, over coffee, and in the library, which served as a faculty lounge during the noon hour. Other encounters occurred at the post office, the community service center, in the halls, at activities, at games, at dances, at carnivals, on the long sidewalks between buildings, and occasionally over dinner in a teacher's home.

The second major source of information was more formal and structured, consisting of questionnaires administered to most teachers, a questionnaire mailed to former staff members, and structured interviews.

The first teacher questionnaire, devised before the study began, was adapted from an instrument developed for the National Study of American Indian Education, directed by Professor Robert Havighurst. In addition to seeking much background information on teachers, it probed their reasons for teaching in the school in question; their attitudes toward their schools, their work, and Indian pupils and cultures; the extent of their preoccupation with keeping pupils under control; various characteristics of the school's administrative structure as they perceived it; and their opinions on the school's effectiveness in the areas of mental and physical health. The questionnaire was distributed to all teachers in the four schools during November and early December, 1968. Anonymity was stressed. Members of the research team promised to pick up the questionnaires themselves, directly from the teachers. In two or three cases at Rough Rock and Chinle Boarding, teachers returned completed questionnaires to the school offices, but none of the other questionnaires passed through administrative hands. When some teachers did not respond, duplicate copies were made available and pleas for cooperation were renewed. In time, completed instruments were obtained from all 25 teachers at Rough Rock, all 14 Rock Point teachers, 30 out of 33 Chinle Boarding School teachers and 18 out of 21 teachers at Chinle Public. For all practical purposes, it may be said that we did not sample this population of teachers; we studied the population itself.

The second questionnaire for instructional personnel was devised during the study to provide further information on trends that were emerging as particularly important or that we had failed to anticipate altogether. It was brief, with six questions concerning contacts with Navaho parents, stories in the dormitory, extra-curricular activities, how hard teachers worked, and teacher morale.[1] It was administered, in special short meetings called for that purpose in January, 1969, to 23 teachers out of 25 at Rough Rock, plus a teacher aide; to 13 out of 14 Rock Point teachers, plus four teacher aides; and to 30 out of 33 Chinle Boarding School teachers, plus four teacher aides. Here again, for all practical purposes, we studied the target population, not a sample.

The teacher interview schedule, like the first teacher questionnaire, was adapted from a schedule developed for the National Study of American Indian Education, partly because we wanted much of our data to be comparable with data from that study. The schedule was long, with questions on the special needs, interests, and capabilities of Navaho pupils; ideas for meeting those challenges; the adaptability of the school in doing so; contacts of teachers with Navaho pupils outside the classroom; pre-service and in-service training experiences; classroom-dormitory coordination; teacher perceptions of administrator behavior; and special strengths and weaknesses of the school. The interviews averaged approximately 75 minutes each, with many lasting 90 minutes or more. The general structure of the interview was followed in most cases, though teachers were encouraged to elaborate on any area of discussion that interested them and even to introduce topics not covered. Most teachers interviewed, by far, seemed eager to discuss their problems, perceptions, ideas, and hopes, so much so that time was often exhausted before all questions had been addressed. The interviewer began to "stagger" some of the questions, asking some of some teachers and others of other teachers, more or less at random, in an effort to get information on all areas. The director of the study interviewed 15 out of 25 Rough Rock teachers, 11 out of 14 Rock Point teachers, 9 out of 33 Chinle Boarding School teachers, and 5 out of 21 teachers at Chinle Public. At Rough Rock, our original intention was to interview all teachers--until we realized how much time the interviews were consuming; so we did not select the interviewees at random. When we saw that not all teachers could be interviewed, we made sure, on the basis of our informal information about the faculty, that "establishmentarians" and "dissidents" were both adequately represented before the interviews were concluded. At Rock Point, it seemed generally agreed that there were only two "gripers." We included them both in the interviews. At Chinle Boarding, we obtained information on the racial background, age, sex, marital status, and grade-level of each teacher, identified six "clusters" of teachers in terms of these attributes, and sampled at random from each one, picking at least one teacher from each and two teachers each from the three largest clusters. At Chinle Public, we attempted to interview all six teachers of the "low-ability" classes in which we were told virtually all children from traditional Navaho homes were found. One teacher was ill; we missed another because a storm blew up and school was dismissed suddenly; and a third spent all the time talking on a subject which, though illuminating, had nothing to do with the interview schedule. Consequently, we have omitted responses at Chinle Public from tables based on the interviews.

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[1] A seventh question provided data that will be analyzed later for evidence relating to the validity of an anxiety scale discussed in chapter 7.

As we suggested earlier, we came very close, considering the teachers questionnaires and interviews together, to studying the whole target population, particularly in the three boarding schools, and even more particularly at Rough Rock and Rock Point, the two schools that our most interesting comparisons concern. Consequently, we report no tests of statistical significance in this chapter, adopting, instead, the rule of thumb that percentage differences lack practical significance if they are less than fifteen points or so.

We will make more sparing and conservative use of responses to the questionnaire sent to all former Rough Rock staff members whose names and addresses we were able to obtain, though when we count husbands and wives who filed "joint returns," 84 per cent of the people we attempted to contact responded (37 out of 44)--a very encouraging reaction to a mailed questionnaire. This instrument was concerned chiefly with reasons why staff members had left.

We will examine the evidence, in turn, on teacher characteristics, attitudes toward Navaho culture, and teacher morale. Finally, after summarizing the reasons given for low morale at Rough Rock, we will discuss a few of the most focal and consistent complaints, comparing them with evidence we obtained to substantiate or refute them, drawn mostly, though not entirely, from interviews with administrators and other employees. We interviewed all administrators at Rough Rock (several of these at least twice); the adult education specialist; the teacher of "GED" classes for adults (classes in preparation for the "General Educational Development" high-school equivalency examination), who also worked in the Navaho Curriculum Center; another employee of the NCC, who formerly taught classes in Navaho; the recreation specialist; the accountant; the accountant's secretary; the school-community coordinator; the maintenance foreman; the public relations officer; the "book writer"; the head of the Arts and Crafts program; the evaluator; and a Navaho maintenance worker who once served on the school board. (See chapters 3 and 4 for information on other adults interviewed.)

Some materials from these sources have been reported earlier, in the chapters on community relationships and dormitories. The rest will be used selectively, for even when we focus on matters most relevant to Rough Rock's objectives, this report has become voluminous. Since teachers exercised their right to refuse to answer some questions, the numbers vary from table to table. With one exception, identified in the final section of this chapter, the data we cite concerning teachers were drawn from the questionnaires and structured interviews, though apart from some data on background characteristics, all tendencies discussed were cross-validated through informal conversations as well.

Teacher Characteristics

What attracted teachers to Rough Rock? What kind of person was the school seeking? What kind came? According to Table 6.1, the school did not follow custom in recruiting and screening staff, for 72 per cent of Rough Rock teachers lacked active teaching certificates, as compared with none at Chinle Public, 21 per cent at Chinle Boarding, and 43 per cent at Rock Point. Some 24 per cent at Rough Rock had not even graduated from college.

If formal teacher qualifications were not critical in selecting teachers, what criteria were used? The following answers were given by the nine Rough Rock teachers asked, in interviews, "When you were interviewed for this position, what qualifications did school officials seem particularly interested in?"

> 1. We were really impressed with our interview. We didn't have teaching credentials, we just had BA degrees and a short experience in the Teacher Corps. We though, "We'll never get the job, because we don't have credentials." But we came up anyway and they asked us why we dropped out of the Teacher Corps, and we told them that we thought the purpose of the Teacher Corps was just left at the wayside and that the Navaho people were being exploited by the director and by quite a few of the people who had been chosed to be in it. We felt that we just couldn't stay in something like that, and we felt that we could do more here than in that. They were impressed with us, and that was mostly the basis of their decision and we stayed for a couple of hours and they just asked us questions about what we thought about Navaho children and teaching. We kept saying, "We don't have credentials," and they kept saying, "Don't worry about credentials. It doesn't mean anything to us."
>
> 2. Somebody that would try new things? Yes, somebody that adapts, and I can certainly see why. (Laugh) That seemed to be the biggest thing that __________ stressed to me when she talked to me. Somebody that was flexible (laugh), somebody that would try new things. Yes, somebody that adapts, and I can certainly see why.
>
> 3. I am a Navaho. I have taught before. [In reply to probe] Not that I had taught Navahos.

Table 6.1 Self-Reported Formal Qualifications of Teachers (from Teacher Questionnaire No. 1)

Qualifications of Indicated Per Cent of Teachers		School CB (N)	 CP (N)	 RR (N)	 RP (N)
Active Teaching Certificate	No degree	0.0 (0)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	7.1 (1)
	Bachelor's	62.1 (18)	57.9 (11)	20.0 (5)	42.8 (6)
	Master's	17.2 (5)	36.8 (7)	8.0 (2)	7.1 (1)
	Doctorate	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
No Active Teaching Certificate	No degree	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	24.0 (6)	0.0 (0)
	Bachelor's	13.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	44.0 (11)	21.4 (3)
	Master's	6.9 (2)	0.0 (0)	4.0 (1)	14.3 (2)
	Doctorate	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.1 (1)
	Total	100.0 (29)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (14)

4. That I had been a teacher before and that I am a Navaho was the only thing. I told them I didn't have a degree, but they insisted on my being hired. I didn't ask for it. I was recruited through recommendations of my superior.

5. Didn't interview. Not sure why they asked me to come.

6. Willingness to put up with isolation, other inconveniences. Willingness to do a few things as a Navaho without pay to help your people.

7. I really don't know. I applied. They said they needed a counselor, so I applied for the job, and they said they had already gotten somebody that had applied for it and I don't know what happened about that.

8. That I wanted to teach, liked kids, seemed to know what I was doing in summer school here.

9. I wasn't interviewed. I had worked with _________ and he knew I was interested in the Indians so he ask me to come out. But he did say at the time that he was interested in people that were interested in the Indians.

Teacher responses to the same question were markedly different at the Chinle Boarding School: "Was transferred, not interviewed." "I applied. Twelve hours or more in elementary education." "Courses, academic achievement, etc." "Met requirements of BIA." "Wasn't interviewed. I applied by mail." "Wasn't interviewed. Applied." "They needed a teacher bad. . . . BIA has to take about anybody." Though functioning within the same BIA structure as Chinle Boarding, Rock Point produced three teachers out of ten who had at least talked with the principal or someone else before coming to the school. The characteristics they mentioned as interesting the school's officials were: "Whether I could identify with the kids--uppermost in his mind. Could I work with these kids, make them comfortable, make them learn?" "My background in teaching Navaho." "Interested in rapport with students. But at Chinle they just come around once a month to see if you have changed your bulletin boards."

Looking at the question from the other side, we asked teachers, "Why did you apply?" We classified their responses in terms of the categories in Table 6.2. As a safeguard against bias, figures for the table were derived from the teacher responses twice, by two individuals working independently, and responses on which there was not agreement were placed in the "other responses" category. At Rough Rock, 48 per cent of teachers said they applied for their positions because of an interest in Navahos or Indians generally or because they wanted to work in a reputedly superior school, as compared with 36 per cent at Rock Point, 13.3 per cent at Chinle Boarding, and 10.5 per cent at Chinle Public. At Chinle Boarding, 26.7 per cent mentioned matters of salary and financial security, as compared with 10.5 per cent at Chinle Public, 7.1 per cent at Rock Point, and none at Rough Rock.

In the light of this evidence on inducements and selection criteria, what kind of teacher actually came? According to Table 6.3, the modal teacher at Rough Rock was a male or female under thirty years of age, predominantly married. The modal teacher at Rock Point was under thirty and married, though more teachers than at Rough Rock were over thirty--again, usually married. The modal teacher at Chinle Boarding was a female over 40, predominantly married. The modal teacher at Chinle public, also, was over 40, though with a better change of being male and single than at Chinle Boarding. Among the schools, Rough Rock

Table 6.2 Responses of Teachers to Question: "Why Did You Apply /for Your Present Position/? (from Teacher Questionnaire No. 1)

	School			
Per Cent of Teachers Mentioning	Chinle Boarding (N)	Chinle Public (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Interest in Navahos or "Indians"	13.3 (4)	10.5 (2)	24.0 (6)	21.4 (3)
Attraction to a good school	- (0)	- (0)	24.0 (6)	14.3 (2)
Challenge or excitement of the Job	13.3 (4)	10.5 (2)	- (0)	- (0)
Desire to Help Someone	3.3 (1)	5.3 (1)	- (0)	- (0)
Salary, Retirement Benefits, etc.	26.7 (8)	10.5 (2)	- (0)	7.1 (1)
Negative Reasons	6.7 (2)	- (0)	8.0 (2)	- (0)
Special Personal Preferences	10.0 (3)	15.8 (3)	20.0 (5)	21.4 (3)
Other Reasons	26.7 (8)	52.6 (10)	24.0 (6)	35.7 (5)
Total Usable Responses	100.0 (30)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (14)

and Rock Point had the monopoly on youth, with Rough Rock in the lead.

Rough Rock was far in the lead as to the proportion of Navaho teachers (Table 6.4), with 40 per cent of teachers in that category. Its nearest competitor was Rock Point, with 7.1 per cent. Table 6.5 and 6.6 suggest that Rough Rock and Rock Point obtained more than their share of liberally educated teachers, who spoke or wrote languages other than English and Navaho. Rough Rock was far in the lead in the percentage of teachers reporting that they could speak or write Navaho. Rough Rock and Rock Point were somewhat alike in attracting predominantly

Table 6.3 Distribution of Teachers by Age, Sex, and Marital Status (from Teacher Questionnaire No. 1)

Age, Sex, and Marital Status Indicated Per Cent of Teachers			School CB (N)	CP (N)	RR (N)	RP (N)
Age: 20 - 30	Married	Male	3.6 (1)	- -	24.0 (6)	28.6 (4)
		Female	- -	31.6 (6)	24.0 (6)	14.3 (2)
	Single or Separated	Male	- -	- -	12.0 (3)	- -
		Female	10.7 (3)	- -	12.0 (3)	- -
Age: 31 - 40	Married	Male	17.9 (5)	5.3 (1)	12.0 (3)	14.3 (2)
		Female	7.1 (2)	10.5 (2)	4.0 (1)	14.3 (2)
	Single or Separated	Male	- -	- -	- -	- -
		Female	3.6 (1)	- -	- -	7.1 (1)
Age: Over 40	Married	Male	7.1 (2)	- -	- -	7.1 (1)
		Female	39.3 (11)	31.6 (6)	8.0 (2)	- -
	Single or Separated	Male	- -	5.3 (1)	- -	- -
		Female	10.7 (3)	15.8 (3)	4.0 (1)	14.3 (2)
	Total		100.0 (28)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (14)

Table 6.4 Ethnicity of Teachers (from Teacher Questionnaire No. 1)

School	Per Cent of Teachers Reporting as: Navaho (N)	Other Indian[a] (N)	Non-Indian (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	3.3 (1)	13.3 (4)	83.3 (25)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	5.3 (1)	5.3 (1)	89.5 (17)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	40.0 (10)	- -	60.0 (15)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	7.1 (1)	- -	92.9 (13)	100.0 (14)

[a] Including several teachers with only partial Indian blood.

Table 6.5 Responses of Teachers to Question: "What Languages Do You Speak?" (from Teacher Questionnaire No. 1)

School	Per Cent of Teachers Reporting English Only (N)	Navaho (N)	Other non-English (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	76.7 (23)	10.0 (3)	13.3 (4)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	73.7 (14)	10.5 (2)	21.1 (4)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	24.0 (6)	48.0 (12)	36.0 (9)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	46.7 (7)	14.3 (2)	42.9 (6)	100.0 (15)

Table 6.6 Responses of Teachers to the Question: "What Languages Do You Read?" (from Teacher Questionnaire No.1)

School	Per Cent of Teachers Reporting: English Only (N)	Navaho (N)	Other non-English (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	76.7 (23)	10.0 (3)	16.7 (5)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	68.4 (13)	10.5 (2)	26.3 (5)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	24.0 (6)	48.0 (12)	40.0 (10)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	64.3 (9)	14.3 (2)	35.7 (5)	100.0 (14)

young teachers. They were unlike in that Rough Rock alone had a high percentage (48%) of teachers with a year or less of instructional experience (Table 6.7); Rough Rock's nearest rival in this regard were Rock Point and Chinle Public, with only one inexperienced teacher. We suspect that this accent on novitiates was partly unintentional at Rough Rock, a function of high turnover, a matter to which we will turn later.

From one standpoint, there may be an advantage in attracting untrained and untried teachers to a radical experiment; otherwise, habits acquired through conventional training and years of service in conventional schools may inhibit innovation. With a new, unspoiled staff, a school may set out to establish its own patterns of performance. Was absence of training and experience accompanied at Rough Rock by an unusual emphases on training teachers on the job? Apparently not. According to Table 6.8, teachers at Chinle Boarding and Rough Rock Rock Point had more on-the-job opportunity than teachers at Rough Rock to learn from others how to teach Indian children. To some unknown extent, however, the differences in this table reflect the fact that Rough Rock's staff members generally had been teaching for much shorter periods of time. Nevertheless, there is little reflection here of the sustained in-service training that Rough Rock's leaders had often emphasized.

Table 6.7 Years of Classroom Experience Reported by Teachers.

School	Per Cent of Teachers Reporting 1 yr. or less (N)	2-4 yrs. (N)	5-10 yrs. (N)	11 yrs. or more (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	0.0 (0)	23.3 (7)	33.3 (10)	43.3 (13)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	5.3 (1)	10.5 (2)	47.4 (9)	36.8 (7)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	48.0 (12)	40.0 (10)	8.0 (2)	4.0 (1)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	7.1 (1)	35.7 (5)	28.6 (4)	28.6 (4)	100.0 (14)

We encountered on the reservation the saying that, "If it were not for the Okies, the Arkies, and the Darkies, there wouldn't be any BIA schools." It did not occur to us in advance to ask teachers concerning the states in which they originated, but we did ask from what states, if any, they held active teaching certificates. As Table 6.9 indicates, a high percentage of certificate-holding teachers

Table 6.8 Responses of Teachers to the Question: "Have You Had Any Special Courses, Experiences or Guidance for Teaching Indian Children Since You Have Been Teaching?"

School	Per Cent of Teachers Saying: Yes (N)	No (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	90.0 (27)	10.0 (3)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	57.9 (11)	42.1 (8)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	68.0 (17)	32.0 (8)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	85.7 (12)	14.3 (2)	100.0 (14)

Table 6.9 Origins of Teachers Holding Certificates.

School	Southern States (N)	Other (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	87.0 (20)	13.0 (3)	100.0 (23)
Chinle Public	94.7 (18)	5.3 (1)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	71.4 (5)	28.6 (2)	100.0 (7)
Rock Point	83.3 (5)	16.7 (1)	100.0 (6)

were from southe states, and administrators insist that other teachers exhibited the same tendency. The general explanation, apparently, was that BIA offered better teacher salaries and fringe benefits for years than many southern states were able to do. Once on the reservation, many BIA teachers changed to public schools. It may be inferred, then, that BIA schools did not have equal ability to attract many teachers from areas outside the South. The table suggests that Rough Rock, as compared with the BIA schools at Chinle and Rock Point, had superior drawing power, for it drew a higher percentage of certified teachers, at least, from states outside the Sough, as did Chinle Public. Rock Point was superior to Chinle Boarding in that regard. Chinle Public, we were told, had salaries at least as attractive as BIA and offered, in addition, a shorter working day and more liberal leaves and vacations.

The final table on teacher characteristics (Table 6.10) concerns the extent to which teachers were preoccupied with controlling pupils. The following twelve items were adapted slightly from an instrument purporting to measure "Pupil Control Ideology," developed by Professor Donald Willower and his colleagues at Pennsylvania State University.[1] According to Willower's data, the items

Table 6.10 Ideological Preoccupation of Teachers with Pupil Control (from Teacher Questionnaire No. 1)

School	Per Cent of Teachers Sooring Low (10 to 29) (N)	High (30 to 50) (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	74.4 (22)	26.7 (8)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	73.7 (14)	26.4 (5)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	92.0 (23)	8.0 (2)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	92.8 (13)	7.1 (1)	100.0 (14)

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[1] Donald J. Willower, Terry L. Eidell, and Wayne K. Hoy, The School and Pupil Control Ideology (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1967.)

constitute a scale when administered to the teacher populations he sampled. Our resources have not permitted us as yet to item-analyze the twelve statements as responded to by the teachers in our sample; so our data are somewhat open to challenge from that standpoint.

1. It is undesirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.

2. Pupils are usually capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning.

3. The best principals give unquestioning support to teachers in disciplining pupils.

4. Pupils should be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.

5. Not enough pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too much on academic preparation.

6. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.

7. It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.

8. Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not influence school policy.

9. Pupils can be trusted to work together without supervision.

10. If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense.

11. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.

12. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad.

For our purposes, the five response categories, strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree, were assigned values of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, respectively, on all items implying that pupils could be trusted, and 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively on items with the opposite implication. Nonresponses were assigned a value of 3. The teacher's score was obtained by summing the values. It may be argued, though without definitive evidence, that superior teachers are preoccupied with instruction, not discipline, not only because they have high expectations for pupils, but because they can self-confidently maintain order and hold pupil interest. From this viewpoint, the teacher who over-emphasizes the need to keep pupils from misbehaving is suspect. To the extent that the argument holds, Rough Rock and Rock Point may have had a higher percentage of capable teachers than the two schools in Chinle. A considerably larger proportion of teachers in the latter two schools evidenced (to the extent that the scale is valid) a high preoccupation with controlling pupils.

Attitudes toward Navaho Culture

Should Navahos give up their unique folkways and become completely assimilated to the larger American society? In keeping with Rough Rock's philosophy, 84 per cent of its teachers said no (Table 6.11), as compared with 64 per cent of teachers at Rock Point, 47 per cent at Chinle Boarding and 37 per cent at Chinle Public. At the latter two schools, 37 per cent of staff members indicated that Navahos should become completely assimilated. Our first-hand contacts with Rough Rock personnel convinced us that the staff was outstanding in the unanimity of its belief in the school's general approach to educating Navaho children. Even when complaining about workaday policies, virtually everyone expressed strong convictions on giving local Navahos control of their school, involving parents extensively, and adapting the program to Navaho culture.

But there are many ways of adapting a school to a culture. Should the school have special courses in the curriculum for teaching Navaho history and culture, for

Table 6.11 Responses of Teachers to Statement: "The Navaho People Should Become Completely Assimilated with the Large American Society."

School	Per Cent of Teachers Responding Agree or Strongly Agree (N)	Undecided or No Response (N)	Disagree or Strongly Disagree (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	36.7 (11)	16.7 (5)	46.7 (14)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	36.8 (7)	26.3 (5)	36.8 (7)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	8.0 (2)	8.0 (2)	84.0 (21)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	7.1 (1)	50.0 (7)	64.3 (9)	100.0 (14)

example? On this issue, all Rough Rock teachers agreed, as did most teachers (93 per cent) at Rock Point and Chinle Boarding, but only 63 per cent at Chinle Public (Table 6.12). Should Navaho elements invade the regular academic areas, being used as subject matter in mathematics, reading, or English? Here the agreement dropped, and the four schools became more similar, though Chinle Public remained the least receptive to Navaho culture (Table 6.13); only 48 per cent of Rough Rock teachers thought the academic invasion should take place, as compared with 50 per cent at Chinle Boarding, 36 per cent at Rock Point, and 32 per cent at Chinle Public.

Table 6.12 Responses of Teachers to Statement: "There Should Be Courses in the Curriculum Which Teach Navaho History and Culture."

	Per Cent of Teachers Responding			
School	Strongly Agree or Agree (N)	Undecided or No Response (N)	Disagree or Strongly Disagree (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	93.3 (28)	3.3 (1)	3.3 (1)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	63.2 (12)	15.8 (3)	21.1 (4)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	100.0 (25)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	92.9 (13)	7.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (14)

Table 6.13 Responses of Teachers to Statement: "Courses Such as Math, Reading, English, etc., Should Use Navaho Cultural Materials as Subject Matter."

	Per Cent of Teachers Responding			
School	Agree or Strongly Agree (N)	Undecided or No Response (N)	Disagree or Strongly Disagree (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	50.0 (15)	20.0 (6)	30.0 (9)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	31.6 (6)	10.5 (2)	57.9 (11)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	48.0 (12)	28.0 (7)	24.0 (6)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	35.7 (5)	14.3 (2)	50.0 (7)	100.0 (14)

How do teachers feel about Navaho parents? Are parents viewed as allies or opponents of education? From 83 to 93 per cent of teachers in the four schools thought, according to data in Table 6.14, that "most Navahos are very anxious for their children to learn in school." Data in chapter 3 certainly supported that opinion! But many teachers must have believed the parental wish was misguided, for a significant percentage of them said "it is often necessary for a teacher to counteract what the Navaho child is taught at home" (Table 6.16). Rough Rock and Rock Point teachers were less likely to take that stance than were teachers in the two Chinle schools. Of the five Rough Rock teachers who adopted the position that parental teachings must be counteracted, three were Navahos. With one exception, the same Rough Rock teachers went farther, agreeing that "the teacher should encourage Navaho students to become more independent of parental control." (Table 6.15). Paradoxically, there was a slight tendency for Rough Rock teachers to say this than for teachers in the other three schools to say it!

Table 6.14 Responses of Teachers to Statement: "Most Navahos Are Very Anxious for Their Children to Learn at School."

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			Total
	True	False	Neither	Usable Responses
School	(N)	(N)	(N)	(N)
Chinle Boarding	82.8 (23)	3.6 (1)	14.3 (4)	100.0 (28)
Chinle Public	89.5 (17)	5.3 (1)	5.3 (1)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	87.0 (20)	8.7 (2)	4.3 (1)	100.0 (23)
Rock Point	92.9 (13)	0.0 (0)	7.1 (1)	100.0 (14)

Table 6.16 Responses of Teachers to Statement: "It is Often Necessary for a Teacher to Counteract What the Navaho Child Is Taught at Home so as to Prepare Him to Live in Today's American Society."

School	Per Cent of Teachers Responding Agree or Strongly Agree (N)	Undecided or No Response (N)	Disagree or Strongly Disagree (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	46.7 (14)	13.3 (4)	40.0 (12)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	42.1 (8)	15.8 (3)	42.1 (8)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	20.0 (5)	20.0 (5)	60.0 (15)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)	78.6 (11)	100.0 (14)

Table 6.15 Responses of Teachers to Statement: "The Teacher Should Encourage Navaho Students to Become More Independent of Parental Control."

School	Per Cent of Teachers Responding Agree or Strongly Agree (N)	Undecided or No Response (N)	Disagree or Strongly Disagree (N)	Total (N)
Chinle Boarding	16.7 (5)	7.1 (2)	76.7 (23)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	10.5 (2)	10.5 (2)	78.9 (15)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	20.0 (5)	28.0 (7)	52.0 (13)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	0.0 (0)	7.1 (1)	92.9 (13)	100.0 (14)

To what extent does Rough Rock demonstrate receptivity to Navaho culture by keeping the classrooms in close contact with the parents? According to Table 6.17, only 17 per cent of Rough Rock teachers had failed to visit at least one home of a Navaho pupil between September 1, 1968, and January 9, 1969. The school was much superior to Chinle Boarding in this regard, though not dramatically better than Rock Point. Rough Rock was falling far short of its announced goal, however, of having every teacher visit every pupil's home at least once a year. As to the percentage of parents who had visited classrooms (Table 6.18), Rough Rock was still in the lead, with Rock Point a close second. But the fact that 56 per cent of Rough Rock teachers reported having nine to fifteen parents in the classrooms must be weighed somewhat against the fact that many Rough Rock parents worked at the school, some of them in the classrooms their children attended. When it came to holding conferences at the school with Navaho parents, Rock Point was highly comparable to Rough Rock (Table 6.19). Both schools were markedly superior to Chinle Boarding, where 77 per cent of teachers said they had held no conferences with parents during the current year.

An examination of Rough Rock's monthly reports suggests that the home visitation program had never functioned at its intended level. In the section on "Home-school Visitation" for May, 1968, for example, is the statement that "only two teachers went on home visits this month."

Table 6.17 Responses of Instructional Personnel to the Question: "Since September 1, 1968, . . . How Many Homes of Your Navaho Pupils Have You Visited?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying				
School	None (N)	1 to 5 (N)	6 to 10 (N)	11 or more (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	66.7 (22)	21.2 (7)	6.1 (2)	6.1 (2)	100.0 (33)
Rough Rock	16.7 (4)	45.8 (11)	29.2 (7)	8.3 (2)	100.0 (24)
Rock Point	38.5 (5)	30.8 (4)	30.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (13)

Table 6.18 Responses of Instructional Personnel to the Question: "Since September 1, 1968, . . . How Many Parents of Your Navaho Pupils Have Visited Your Classroom?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying				
School	None (N)	1 to 8 (N)	9 to 15 (N)	16 or more (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	7.7 (2)	65.4 (17)	19.2 (5)	7.7 (2)	100.0 (26)
Rough Rock	5.5 (1)	38.9 (7)	55.6 (10)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (18)
Rock Point	15.4 (2)	30.8 (4)	38.5 (5)	15.4 (2)	100.0 (13)

Table 6.19 Responses of Instructional Personnel to the Question: "Since September 1, 1968, . . . How Many Parents of Your Navaho Pupils Have Met You at the School for Conferences?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying				
School	None (N)	1 to 8 (N)	9 to 14 (N)	15 or more (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	76.4 (23)	12.9 (4)	3.2 (1)	9.7 (3)	100.0 (31)
Rough Rock	9.7 (3)	52.4 (11)	4.8 (1)	28.6 (6)	100.0 (21)
Rock Point	21.4 (3)	14.3 (2)	28.6 (4)	35.7 (5)	100.0 (14)

Teacher Morale

We turn at this point to several estimates of general teacher morale. The first was obtained in November and early December, 1968, through responses to an item in the first teacher questionnaire: "How do you feel about your present job?" Since we know from previous research that teachers are reluctant to complain about their instructional tasks, we would not anticipate dramatic differences between schools on this item. Table 6.20 gives both Rock Point and Chinle Public a marked lead over Rough Rock in this respect, however, for each of the former schools produced over 64 per cent of teachers indicating a "very favorable" feeling, as compared with 40 per cent at Rough Rock (and 45 per cent at Chinle Boarding). We sought further evidence on this question when we returned to the reservation in January, 1969, and administered a second questionnaire for instructional personnel. We were particularly interested in determining whether teacher morale was improving at Rough Rock as the new administration became established. An encouraging 85 per cent of Rough Rock teachers reported in January that morale was getting better (Table 6.21). Interestingly, an opposite tendency appeared at Rock Point, where we learned that fiscal shortages and staff cutbacks were waxing more severe: 45 per cent of Rock Point teachers said morale had been getting worse. But in spite of these indications that morale at Rough Rock had been improving and morale at Rock Point had been

Table 6.20 Responses of Teachers to the Question: "How Do You Feel About Your Present Job?" (November, 1968)

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			
School	Very Favorable (N)	Favorable (N)	Neutral, Uncertain or Unfavorable (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	44.8 (13)	41.4 (12)	13.8 (4)	100.0 (29)
Chinle Public	68.4 (13)	21.1 (4)	10.5 (2)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	40.0 (10)	44.0 (11)	16.0 (4)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	64.3 (9)	28.6 (4)	7.1 (1)	100.0 (14)

Table 6.21 Responses of Instructional Personnel to the Question: "In What Way, If Any, Has Teacher Morale Worsened or Improved During the Last Three Months?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Indicating			
School	Morale Getting Worse (N)	Morale Getting Better (N)	No Change or Merely Fluctuation (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	28.6 (4)	35.7 (5)	35.7 (5)	100.0 (14)
Rough Rock	10.0 (2)	85.0 (17)	5.0 (1)	100.0 (20)
Rock Point	44.4 (4)	33.3 (3)	22.2 (2)	100.0 (9)

Table 6.22 Responses of Instructional Personnel to the Question: "How Would You Rate Teacher Morale at This School?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			
School	Superb or Very Good (N)	Avove Average (N)	Average or Below Average (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	36.1 (13)	25.0 (9)	36.1 (13)	100.0 (35)
Rough Rock	25.0 (6)	29.2 (7)	45.8 (11)	100.0 (24)
Rock Point	76.5 (13)	17.6 (3)	5.9 (1)	100.0 (17)

Table 6.23 Responses of Phase I and Other Instructional Personnel at Rough Rock to the Question: "How Would You Rate Teacher Morale at This School?" [a]

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			
School	Superb or Very Good (N)	Above Average (N)	Average or Below Average (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Phase I	18.2 (2)	9.1 (1)	72.7 (8)	100.0 (11)
Other	30.8 (4)	46.2 (6)	23.1 (3)	100.0 (13)

[a] In Rough Rock's "nongraded" system, Phase I corresponds roughly to the first four grades.

deteriorating, Rock Point was still much superior to Rough Rock with respect to teacher-estimated morale (Table 6.22). Nearly 77 per cent of Rock Point teachers rated their morale as "superb or very good," as compared with 25 per cent at Rough Rock (and 36 per cent at Chinle Boarding). Within the Rough Rock staff itself, according to Table 6.23, the lowest morale was found among Phase I (primary level) teachers. Rock Point instructional personnel were also much more likely than their Rough Rock compeers to report that most teachers in the school were working "extremely hard" (Table 6.24). The percentage answering in this way is 35 at Rock Point and 4 at Rough Rock. Chinle Boarding holds second place at 26 per cent.

There is some reason to suspect that low staff morale is reflected in high turnover, though one must of course allow for such factors as the isolation Rough Rock personnel must tolerate. According to the teachers' own reports (Table 6.25), turnover at Rough Rock was incomparably higher than in the other four schools in the sample. As compared with less than 16 per cent in the other schools, 64 per cent of Rough Rock teachers reported being in the present location for less than one year. (Data reported below suggested that the "one year" category was chosen by several first year teachers as well.) Some 50 per cent of Rock Point teachers, 60 per cent of Chinle Boarding teachers, and 68 per cent of Chinle Public teachers reported that this was at least their third year in the current school, as compared with only three Rough Rock teachers (12 per cent).

Table 6.24 Responses of Instructional Personnel to the Question: "In Your Estimation, How Hard Do Most Teachers in This School Work, Considering Both the Quanitity and the Intensity of Their Efforts?"

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			
School	Extremely Hard (N)	Considerably Above Average or Above Average (N)	About Average (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	25.7 (9)	57.1 (20)	17.1 (6)	100.0 (35)
Rough Rock	4.3 (1)	76.8 (18)	17.4 (4)	100.0 (23)
Rock Point	35.3 (6)	52.9 (9)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)

The classrooms at Rough Rock were affected, not only by staff turnover, but by a tendency for teachers to leave the classroom for other jobs at the school. When we requested a list of teachers who had been at Rough Rock in September, 1966, we were given a "list of teachers during 1966 school year." Judging by the size of the list, it includes some teachers who left and some who came during the year; but approximate figures for teacher turnover may be calculated. Of 21 full-time teachers on the list, only 10 (47.6 per cent) were still in the school in September, 1967, and only 6 (28 per cent) were still in the classrooms. Turnover was even more severe during and at the end of the second year. Of nineteen people listed as teachers or teaching specialists at Rough Rock in September, 1967, only eight (42.1 per cent) were still on staff a year later, and only four (21.1 per cent) were still in the classrooms. About 69 per cent of teachers were new to the classrooms at the beginning of the second year, and about 80 per cent at the beginning of the second year, according to these estimates--that is, unless part of the turnover occurred during the school year, disrupting instructional continuity even more.

We were unable to obtain lists of former teachers at Rock Point and Chinle Boarding so we could calculate comparable figures there. But several teachers at Rock Point reported that the school had lost only three teachers in six years;

Table 6.25 Years in Present Location Reported by Teachers.

School	Less Than 1 year (N)	Per Cent of Teachers Reporting 1 year (N)	2 years (N)	3-5 years (N)	6 rs. or more (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	13.3 (4)	6.7 (2)	20.0 (6)	23.3 (7)	36.7 (11)	100.0 (30)
Chinle Public	15.8 (3)	15.8 (3)	0.0 (0)	31.5 (6)	36.9 (7)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	64.0 (16)	12.0 (3)	12.0 (3)	12.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (25)
Rock Point	14.3 (2)	21.4 (3)	14.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (7)	100.0 (14)

there was much staff stability in the Rock Point classrooms.

In keeping with requests from Navaho leaders who responded to our suggestion that they identify important questions to be explored in the study (see chapter 1), we attempted to obtain evidence on the sources of Rough Rock's severe staff turnover.

When we asked top administrators at Rough Rock why turnover was so high, they said many personnel had come to the school with a commitment to stay only until the first director left, at the end of the second year. When we asked former members of Rough Rock's instructional staff (in the questionnaire described at the beginning of this chapter), we received a variety of answers: Teachers who had left after staying at the school for at least six months gave the following answers:

> (1) Inhuman treatment of the employees not only teachers and admin, but also unskilled employees. People saw through to the real facts. Children paid to attend. Parent must register children to be in arts and crafts program. Finished products kept by ___________ as books and publications.
>
> (2) Location, language barrier, and lack of communication between school and dormitories; school and school board; teachers and director; and teachers and students.
>
> (3) No job description, no strict organized procedure, and unqualified personnel led me to believe improper steps were being taken towards educational goals and objectives. The school board doesn't even recognize requirements for teachers and other positions. Degree of education doesn't count. Discipline wasn't ever practiced, students didn't show respect of employees; "Hello Jimmy," shouted a 10 year old.
>
> (4) Lack of continuity in programs and between programs. Poor administration in Educational Services. Disallusionment. Inability to get commitments concerning assignments, salaries, benefits and curriculum from the principal, school board or anyone else.
>
> (5) 1. Probably because of the location (isolated). 2. Conflicts with work duties. 3. Disagreements.
>
> (6) 1. _________. She is responsible for teacher turnover, especially Navaho. 2. __________. She has no tact, no admin. abilities and very emotional. 3. Programs. Results were too idealistic, padded and no realistic; i.e. monthly, reports. 4. Children. Kids were given too much freedom and teachers too little.
>
> (7) Amount of work required was challenging, however, most of the personnel, I felt, didn't have the qualification to do the necessary amount of innovation, gather facts, and report.
>
> (8) The lack of cooperation between administration and teachers and administrations. [sic.]
>
> (9) Favoritism, unstable and impulsive attitudes along with explosive temperment at _____________ level.

(10) a. Lack of job security, and fringe benefits. b. Isolation. c. I think a project like RRDS is attractive to young, idealistic people. Frequently, these people do not have the sense of proportion or the experience which enable them to take in their stride the breakdowns and discouragements which are concomitants of any new program. d. In many anti-poverty projects, it seems that experience in one project is a stepping-stone to advancement in other projects. Now that we are looking for "indigenous people" to staff such projects, it is not unexpected that those who have worked at RRDS be considered good staff material for other activities involving Indian people.

(11) Lack of discipline (negative discipline policy; do not touch the child!) --too much vandalism, stealing, etc.

(12) During the early days the lack of a well defined program led to a great deal of confusion. Many staff members were hired for specific jobs which they never got. The staff was also expected to have a fanatical dedication to the project.

(13) No cooperation and seem like not organized good. /sic/ The first week before school start, __________ wanted all the staff to meet together and at this meeting one statement he made I didn't like. He said, "If there is anyone who doesn't like the place or their job, you should go." Some teachers wanted more materials to work with and didn't get it. The behavior of the students was bad.

(14) Many go there out of curiosity, and when this is satisfied they leave.

Interestingly, people who had been VISTAs at the school, prepared to "rough it" there, answered differently, as a rule. For example:

(1) Isolation is a big reason, not many people can undergo that kind of isolation for a period of over a few years. Also dedication. In a program like Rough Rock there is no two way. You have to be dedicated to the program.

(2) Let's face it, its out in the boondocks. Unless you like the wilds of the Navaho Reservation as I do, you won't like too much time at Rough Rock. Furthermore, there seems to be a hard core of rather highly prejudiced older staff members who's /sic/ moralism tends to dampen the spirits of the young experimental ones.

Other employees were generally more critical than VISTAs, but somewhat less critical than teachers in listing reasons for staff turnover.

Teacher Complaints and Related Evidence

In this section, we will identify more specifically some focal teacher complaints and the evidence we obtained to corroborate or refute them. To what extent, if any, do they reflect organizational malfunctions at Rough Rock?

Data considered earlier suggested that the low morale of teachers at Rough Rock could not be attributed to overwork. When we asked the teachers what was bothering them, they voiced virtually the same grievances as the former teachers we canvassed by mailed questionnaire. The strikingly parallel responses suggest that the protests of teachers were not entirely a function of the change in leadership, for they were raised by people who left long before this occurred. To cite the major complaints: Rough Rock was isolated, they said, and the "language barrier" prevented most Anglo teachers from getting to know many local people. There were many complaints about administrators: That some of them were incapable, too emotional, bereft of tact. They didn't do their job; arrange for communication between groups; get the place organized efficiently; provide a sense of direction; establish follow-through, articulation, program definition. They gave no support to efforts to maintain student discipline. As for personnel policies at the school, it was alleged that employees were treated inequitably and lacked job security. Some were not qualified, many were too young and idealistic to face the problems, and some were prejudiced older people. Teaching materials were inadequate. Local people were paid for everything (including attending classes) on the one hand, and coerced on the other. And as in any organization, there were miscellaneous conflicts and disagreements.

Some of the same topics appear in Professor Werner's interview notes, reporduced in Appendix C. A few of them warrant further discussion, partly because they were mentioned with such consistency:

Comments concerning the sense of isolation at Rough Rock were frequent. Beyond this, teachers, administrators, and other employees pointed out that the school's policies concerning sick leave, annual leave, and vacations functioned to intensify the isolation, for they made it difficult for staff members to leave for any length of time. To obtain enough days at Christmas for a brief trip, we discovered, one had to subtract days from the allotted annual leave, and thus cut down on summer time off. Teachers were expected to stay through the summer, though many of them felt they were not needed. Other personnel policies criticized were the absence of a salary schedule to ensure equity in this area, the unavailability of teacher contracts or grievance arrangements, a practice of making teachers provide a record of when they began and finished work each day, and an alleged tendency, at least in the past, to fire people rather than helping them adapt and improve. An "evaluator" who had little contact with other personnel was given the task of making judgments on the quality of everyone's work and writing secret reports for the director.

While we were at Rough Rock, key administrators showed no inclination to defend these policies, sometimes ridiculing them as the "evaporating staff" approach. The teachers had created a committee of their own to press for changes. Policies concerning salary schedules, leave, grievances, and other matters of personnel were being discussed when we left in December. A "self-evaluation" was launched, partly, we were told by the administrator chiefly responsible, "to replace the gum-shoe approach."

To further accentuate the isolation, some teachers felt excluded from social activities, and the administrative machinery sometimes failed to communicate concern for staff welfare. A Navaho and an Anglo told of arriving at the compound for the first time, before school opened in the fall, and finding offices closed and no advance arrangements made to welcome them and show them to their quarters. They spent a great deal of time going from door to door, trying to obtain information. Nobody evidenced much interest in helping. One man and his wife found, when they arrived on what was to be a one-day trip to see that their house was ready for occupancy, that furniture school officials had promised to store in a house had been sitting in a garage, being chewed by vermin. They worked for several days to forestall further damage. During that period, nobody dropped in to say "Hello," or invited them over for coffee, or offered them a hot meal. Since the dining room was closed and no stores were available, they subsisted on potato chips they happened to have in their car. To quote the other teacher:

> They hire a person and that is the last time they have contact with him. You have to fumble your way around to find your quarters, who's the head of what, get referred from person to person. Nobody knows what is going on. Nobody is responsible for anything . . . They just hired people, decided to run the school, and that's it. They didn't do anything else.

At the first meeting of the teachers' organization formed in November, one teaching specialist made a plea for the faculty members "to be aware of each other." She told of a single, female Anglo teacher at Rough Rock who had been seriously ill in her apartment for days before anyone noticed that something was amiss. It was suggested that some kind of signal be adopted to indicate illness, such as turning on the porch light. Very few apartments and homes at Rough Rock had telephones.

There were many reports to the effect that a few favorite teachers had been permitted to skip classes and take time off with impunity, while others would be castigated for minor infractions. One of the examples mentioned repeatedly by current and former teachers concerned two "inner-circle" couples (promoted since that time) who decided one day that they needed to go fishing. Reportedly they asked to be excused from classes for two days, were refused, and announced that they would take the time anyhow, on the grounds that they were not in fit mental condition to teach. No disciplinary action was taken. A little later, someone apprised the school board of the faculty's "bad record of time off" and the whole staff was reprimanded.[1] The administrator most closely involved corroborated these reports. We examined the school's personnel files and obtained what we consider to be persuasive evidence of differential treatment of staff members on several occasions.

Some of the individuals who allegedly received special treatment as teachers were now administrators. Many teacher protests concerned "the upper crust, who can get away with anything," the administrators.

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[1] In response, the teachers formed a short-lived committee and filed the following statement with the administrative staff:

REPORT OF TEACHERS' REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE

This committee wishes to express regret at the misuse of leave by some which has caused the administration to consider the entire group as untrustworthy. In an attempt to correct this misuse and to prevent its reoccurence we submit the following recommendations:

1). a. That a standing committee of five members be selected by the members of the teaching staff during the first week of September to serve for one year term.

b. That in cases of reported misuse of leave (educational, annual or sick) and, or misuses of school property, time, and employees, the committee may investigate and make a report with recommendations to the Assistant Director in charge of Educational Services. Copies of such reports will also be sent to the Director and to the Assistant Director in charge of Administrative Services.

2.) a. That the 13 days of sick leave per year be granted to each employee when he begins his year of employment. That when the specified number of days had been used the employee will then be expected to pay his own substitute and this payment be made through the principal the day he receives his next pay check.

b. That extreme emergencies may be reviewed and decided on by the Assistant Director or Director.

One virtually universal accusation among teachers was that most administrators were not attending to their jobs. They would be away attending conventions or riding or hunting or merely staying at home while the store went untended. For instance:

> 1. It really bothers me. . . All they got to do is take a paper off the shelf and write their own time sheet and they've done it and they've gone. . . . I've got over $10 in my pocket that I collected from some visitors that came to my room and asked me to help them buy some material from the [Curriculum] Center. [Nobody's around there?] No, there's never a soul. . . . It happens often, yes it does. And this has been very difficult for the regular teaching staff, because these people are responsible for the Navaho curriculum, and there hasn't been any, and they'll admit that. . . . If they don't feel like showing, they just don't come. And many, many times we've sent out kids out to go to one of those Navaho classes and there is nobody there. . . There are two sets of rules. . . . Last year, it was out of hand completely, completely out of hand. And he has done considerable to straighten it out, and I hear much, much less of this kind of problem this year than last.
>
> 2. They have big glorious titles, but no action. They get paid lots, but they don't do anything. Like __________: He was promised an office by __________. If there is no work, they will create a job for anyone. We should use the money properly. Those people don't do anything. Maybe they don't know how. Nobody knows what is going on. Staff doesn't know what is going on. They take off any time they feel like it. There are two sets of rules--one for teachers and one for administrators.
>
> 3. Those administrators--what do they do? Who knows, when you can't get through to them. The administrators were the big cheeses. No one could get through to them.
>
> 4. I wonder why some personnel in this school who are doing nothing have contracts. [Are they classroom teachers?] They were classroom teachers at one time.

3.) a. That annual leave may be used for only 2 days per semester for personal business when applied for and granted in advance.
b. That the days during Christmas vacation not be counted off the total annual leave earned by the individual.
c. That the remainder of the Annual leave be used during the summer for additional weeks needed for summer school or a vacation.
d. That unused annual leave be paid to an employee at serverance.
e. That sick leave may be accumulated to 30 days.

4.) That persons who take leave without pay and do so with knowledge of disapproval be docked pay equal to 5 working days.

5.) That hiring procedures should be standardized so that the director and the assistant directors give comparable benefits and pay for the various positions.

6.) That disciplinary action should be uniform throughout the school to prevent action on basis of personality conflicts and to insure action when necessary even if it includes friends.

7.) That all administrative assistants do their own supervision and observing of any one teacher, before deciding upon as important an area as the quality of his

5. The concept of the school is tremendous, but it's the people in there! The same group keeps tossing the ball back and forth. They should refrain from doing that or leave. There is a lot of turnover as a result.

6. I hold no vendettas. But a lot of people seem to think they can take advantage of the situation. People have been very critical of __________ for doing nothing. The dual personnel in educational services is a complete waste. Two high-paid administrators for this small group of teachers!. . . There are too many titles, too many administrators. Rough Rock is demonstrating that when funds flow there are a lot of people around that take them.

On the basis of our observations, we would have to say there was an element of truth in these statements. We witnessed many occasions on which important matters were neglected because no one was around to handle them, in spite of the large number of administrators on staff for the size of the school. Many times

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performance; in other words do not listen to hearsay.

8.) That the immediate supervisor (for teachers) visit and observe classes at least once every nine week period. This past year, evaluations were made by a very objective person, and one who couldn't begin to be sympathetic to many situations in the classrooms.

INFORMATION SHEET

The "Teachers' Representative Group" wishes to inform the administration and school board of the following". (This is not intended to include recommendations, It is information which we feel you should be aware of.)

1. That no program is better than its administrators, that policies affecting teachers should also be equally so for administrators.

2. That many times during the past two years the entire teaching staff has been reprimanded as a group for a problem caused by only a few individuals.

3. That people when hired have been promised things by one administrator that the other administrators were unaware of--causing lack of unity.

4. That certain individuals have been counted as on the job when they were at home. That this was regular procedure for several months. That one person involved often said openly to the rest of the teaching staff, "Well, now for my regular Friday at home. I can't get anything done up here. There are too many interruptions." (All of us can well understand this, but others are not permitted to have such freedom.)

5. That teacher aides have been used on at least three occasions as baby sitters during school hours.

6. That the majority of the teachers on this staff have real concern for the children and without any hesitation have put in many hours and days of overtime with no thought whatever of extra pay, compensitory time, or even a pat on the back.

7. That teachers are very concerned about the number of absences of children. Horse trips, ball games, rodeos, fairs, contests, tournaments, etc., have prevented children from getting the instruction they needed.

what appeared to be very simple problems of organization and communication seemed beyond the capability of the administrative apparatus. Several times, the woman who was most universally accused of taking time off at will was seen on the compound in her riding togs in the middle of a working day. (Her husband was her immediate supervisor.) We encountered a surprising number of references to hunting trips. But teachers may have misunderstood some administrator absences. It appeared as though a proposal with an immediate deadline was always in process. One or two people would be working feverishly at home, hoping to get more done than office interruptions would permit. If we had known the circumstances, we might have discovered that midday rides across the mesa were usually justifiable in terms of late-night writing stints. It is likely that on more than one trip imagined by teachers to be mainly for pleasure, some Rough Rock administrator missed meals while rushing from appointment to appointment.

There were many teacher complaints, in fact, about a preoccupation with publicizing the school, writing proposals, and getting money, to the neglect of internal affairs. It was our impression that a significant proportion of staff time and energy was focused on publicity and money-getting. A public information officer worked virtually full-time on producing the school newspaper, issuing news releases, and escorting visitors around the school. The assistant to the director spent much of his time seeing that visitors were picked up at the landing strip, properly accommodated on the compound, and made to feel well taken care of. The "evaluator's" main function was to produce monthly reports, which he described as chiefly a device to impress OEO, a major source of the school's funds, and at least two dozen other staff members spent hours each month contributing to it; a "book writer" was paid a handsome salary to help produce such promotional publications as Navaho Education at Rough Rock; four or five high-level administrators were called upon to help write proposals; the director of the school devoted much, if not most, of his time promoting the school and looking for funds for the next fiscal year; the photographer in the Navaho Curriculum Center produced many publicity pictures. Administrators and board members took many trips to Washington and other distant cities to get the school's message across. Considering the salaries of the individuals involved (available in our files), a conservative estimate of outlays for publicity, promotion, and fund-raising could not be less than $35,000 a year. Some of this could be justified, of course, in the light of the fact that Rough Rock was a demonstration school. It had to be accessible to visitors. It had to provide information about its programs.

It should be mentioned parenthetically, though teachers did not complain about this, that the evaluator mentioned in Rough Rock's initial proposal, who would "be responsible for the development of sound, action oriented research studies," and who would "assist teachers in the development of studies in their field of special interest as well as developing project wide studies of his own," turned out to be primarily a writer of monthly reports, which in no sense could be described as objective or research-oriented. The individual in question, whose competence and integrity we intend in no way to disparage (he was possibly the most efficient, hardest working member of the entire administrative staff), did not claim to be a researcher. He explained that the school could not find a competent man for the position; so it was redefined.

Other teacher complaints concerned the reallocation to community services and other programs of funds that had been obtained for instruction (several current administrators at Rough Rock acknowledged the charge to be accurate), and exaggerated publicity about the school. As we mentioned in chapter 3, some key administrators showed no disposition to defend claims made about their programs by their predecessors. Some joked about published statements that they characterized as ridiculous: about "the 19 textbooks produced under the two original grants" by the Navaho Curriculum Center, for example (when only two had appeared), or the "more than 12,000 visitors to Rough Rock (coming from 42 states and eight foreign countries) during its first year and a half of operation."[1]

One individual who had helped obtain national press coverages concerning Rough Rock's role in the big snowstorm of 1967 expressed anger that he had inadvertently helped to put out false information, believing statements that were given to him by an administrator--about people who walked many miles to Rough Rock through the snow to avoid starving to death, for example. As the "evaluator" observed in his report for June, 1968, "There has been a tendency toward hyperbole during the past two years whenever it seemed that the padding of figures was desirable (and could not readily be refuted)." In some respects this tendency to oversell backfired, for several teachers said they believed their disillusion was caused, in important measure, by expecting too much on the basis of publicity.

But if the school had less than a thousand visitors each school month, it had enough to make teachers complain about interrupted classes. Interruptions were bad enough, they said, but visitors would not stay long enough to find out what was happening in the classroom. They would look at teacher and pupils, "like animals in a zoo," and tramp on to the next exhibit. One teacher offered an amusing account of how he coped with the problem:

> The first year I cheated like mad. Everytime somebody came in, I told the kids in Navaho, "Put your books away, get out your Navaho book, and we're going to study Navaho right now." I was scared. I didn't know what in the world to say.

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[1] Gary Witherspoon, "Navaho Curriculum Center," Journal of American Indian Education, VII (May, 1968), 36-41; Broderick H. Johnson, Navaho Education at Rough Rock (Rough Rock, Arizona: Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1968).

Interviewer: When you study in Navaho, who knows? /laughter/

And they obeyed implicitly, and never a quiver, and they took it out just like they were as happy as anything. And they always knew that I would not ask them a question that they couldn't answer, or if I did, I didn't leave them hanging. . . . I had their absolute cooperation, any time any observer has ever been in my room.

We encountered bitter comments to the effect that, in previous years, staff members who dared take complaints or suggestions to administrators would typically be invited to leave. As a result, problems were not faced and dealt with. Teachers said, for example:

1. And many of them were told the bus leaves that front gate down there every hour for St. Louis--just go down and stand and see! Well now, that really makes a guy feel like going back to his classroom and really getting with it, doesn't it? This has been bad. So that's what really hurts me, to see the turnover that's been in this staff.

2. __________ can't take anything from anybody. "You don't tell me -- I tell you."

3. "Take the next bus for St. Louis." I heard him say that to the whole group. I lost a lot of respect for __________. . . . There was real danger last year that the whole thing would collapse. The educational services were really something last year. If the kids learned, it was in spite of the system.

4. Last year the teachers started putting their backs up to __________. He just said, "Go! I'll have your classrooms filled by Monday!" The whole staff left at the end of the year.

5. If you went up and said, "Look, we're not doing a good job here, we have no scope and sequence, we don't have any framework, we were scattered all over the place, one grade is teaching the same thing that--the first grade was teaching the same thing the fifth grade was teaching--and you were told, "Well, go on, get out of here! We don't want any criticism, and you can't criticize!"

Very similar responses, at least equally strident, were received from the former Rough Rock teachers to whom we mailed questionnaires.

Very pertinent in this regard is a question in the teacher interview schedule that produced markedly different responses at Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle: "a. What must a teacher do in this school to gain the esteem of the administration? b. What kind of teacher is disliked or ignored by administrators?" All the responses are reproduced verbatim from our notes, in many cases as tape-recorded:

ROUGH ROCK

1. With __________, find fault.
2. Oh, one who doesn't complain too much, I think.
3. I guess it's the teachers that don't give them any trouble. They just

accept all the changes, day by day, without a question--don't gripe because we don't get Christmas vacation, and this sort of thing.

4. I think there are two kinds of "like" (or types) as far as they're concerned. They're interested in those who can handle a classroom by themself, rather than having some one else come and do it. They're interested in those who are able to teach the kids well. I'm sure of that. And they are also interested in those who can be diplomatic enough to get along with the parents. And then one other kind of "like" which doesn't fit with these--there have been some indications by some parts of the personnel, that the social life is very important, more important as a friendship basis, than the academic professional life.

5. Do what he is supposed to do and not cause problems.

6. Well, they're pretty good. . . they listen to what people think. /Is that the same this year as last year?/ Last year it wasn't so much. They would say to pack up and go. /There wasn't much room for disagreeing?/ Right. But this year we feel that we can say something and still can stay here and work.

7. I don't know, cause I don't care. All right, a lot of bootlicking. Nothing to do with ability at all.

8. a. I don't know. b. Use up your annual leave?

9. Don't know.

10. I don't know.

11. Don't know. Unless being terribly obnoxious.

12. That's a hard one. I really don't know. Ah, in the past I guess it was a little more personal than professional. And I would probably say that to a very large extent it is still true, that it leans to the personal.

ROCK POINT

1. a. Interest in school, in teaching the little kids, love for the kids, show you are really interested. b. Person that goes AWOL, loafs.

2. a. Talk professionally. Read up on the latest trends. Keep yourself professionally minded. Put in more than your share of time 14 hours a day. (I don't do that.)

3. a. Show you are basically interested in the kids, in helping them. Work hard. Have ideas. Be willing to try out things. Listen to him and his ideas. Flexible, willing to adjust.

4. a. Emphasize teaching English, be business-like about classroom activities. Take job seriously.

5. a. Have rapport with students, be friendly and kind. Do your job well. Do the things he requires. Usually what he wants is good. Emphasize English. Get the students talking.

6. a. Do your job--sincere, here on time. He plays no favorites. Very sincere himself. Expects people to work. b. Opposite.

7. a. Work hard--give yourself (You soon learn that) b. (Never thought about it). Insensitivity to the needs of children.

8. Work hard. Do the job.

9. a. Be a hard worker. Someone with rapport with kids and who really likes them--someone who likes to teach English. b. Do not like kids.

10. a. You have to be efficient--use every second of every day for a very worthwhile purpose. Everyone is working hard--no one wants to leave. Here, they are feeling success is just around the corner--elsewhere they are giving up. I particularly like ESL, giving children every chance to succeed every day.

CHINLE BOARDING

1. a. Don't know. b. Be out-spoken. Have an opinion of your own.

2. a. Don't know--not going to lose sleep over it. b. Jump channels (regulation oriented).

3. a. Dependable--be here and be on time and have "childring's" [sic] interests at heart. b. Opposite.

4. a. Hold your own. Control classroom. Keep kids under control (that's all they know) b. Publicly point out weaknesses in program.

5. a. Do what they want--go along with policy--don't try to change anything (I change what I want to and I let them find out).

6. a. Go along with existing conditions. b. Do something different.

7. a. Cooperation. Don't gripe. b. I don't know. Don't rock the boat.

We did not attempt to determine whether administrators at Rough Rock were "really" unable or unwilling to accept criticism and face problems in the past, whether the Rock Point principal was "really" primarily concerned about efficient performance in the classroom, or whether Chinle administrators were "really" preoccupied with keeping the boat from rocking. But one fact seems clear: staff members perceived these orientations, accurately or not, and probably acted accordingly, as the dormitory and classroom observations in chapters 4 and 5 seem to indicate. Further data relevant to this point were obtained in response to a questionnaire item concerning how often administrators encouraged and supported innovation. As compared with 21 per cent of teachers at Rock Point, 42 per cent at Rough Rock said, "sometimes," "rarely," or "never." Rough Rock was better-off in this regard than the two schools in Chinle, however--especially the public school, where 70 per cent of teachers indicated poor administrative support of innovation. (Table 6.24).

The remaining frequently mentioned complaints concerning classroom affairs involved too much Navaho, allegedly, in the curriculum(though all teachers appeared to want some), the purportedly poor quality of instruction in Navaho subjects, lack of any help for teachers from the Navaho Curriculum Center, the lack of curricular articulation discussed in chapter 5, the lack of an art teacher in a school for children with remarkable abilities and interests in art, inadequate academic emphases, the claim that TESL last year was forced onto teachers, regardless of how they felt about the methods used, the spasmodic nature of instruction for pupils in arts and crafts, and the absence of any personnel responsible for pupil guidance.

Since most of the topics have been covered in earlier chapters, we will briefly consider only the Navaho arts and crafts program, the Navaho Curriculum Center, and the issue of guidance.

It is interesting to notice, in connection with teacher complaints about the Navaho Curriculum Center, a statement from the minutes of a meeting of Rough Rock's "key staff" held on July 25, 1968: "It is anticipated that there will be an ever-growing concern for the results of the money that is being poured into the school. The example of the Navaho Curriculum Center was cited where some

Table 6.24 Teacher Responses to Item, "The Administration Encourages and Supports Innovations."

	Per Cent of Teachers Saying			Total
School	Rarely or Never (N)	Some-times (N)	Often or Frequently (N)	Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	10.7 (3)	39.3 (11)	50.0 (14)	100.0 (28)
Chinle Public	17.6 (3)	52.9 (9)	29.4 (5)	100.0 (17)
Rough Rock	25.0 (6)	16.7 (4)	58.3 (14)	100.0 (24)
Rock Point	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)	78.5 (11)	100.0 (14)

$250,000 has been spent with very little of a concrete nature to show for it." Many teachers at Rough Rock described the curriculum center in distinctly unflattering terms. They were angry, apparently, because they had needed special teaching materials for teaching Navaho children and had been unable to obtain them from the center. They wanted curriculum guides and audiovisual materials and other workaday instructional grist, not a book a year of Navaho tales, they explained. In fact, we were able to find no one at the school who maintained that the center had produced at all adequately. The explanations most often given were that people in the center did not understand what was needed in the classroom, that teachers were never consulted, that too much emphasis had been placed on putting out beautiful books and not enough on supporting classroom instruction, and that some personnel in the center had been ill-equipped for their jobs. Perhaps the complaints were somewhat overdone. Three truly admirable books were produced--Coyote Tales, Grandfather Stories, and Black Mountain Boy, though at a high cost per volume.

Several teachers complained that when they sent children to receive instruction in Navaho arts and crafts, the instructor was often, if not typically, absent. Some children would return to the classroom and ask the teacher for something to do, while others would roam the compound unsupervised. The man in charge of arts and crafts for adults and children complained, on the other hand, that the children would not attempt to learn when adults were present who could perform the tasks so much better--a typically Navaho response. Yet the children had no suitable place in which to work by themselves, he said, though he had repeatedly requested one. Similar teacher complaints were made about unmanned classes in Navaho language and Navaho social living; the charge was corroborated by a teacher in the program (see Professor Werner's notes in Appendix C).

When we asked Rough Rock administrators why the school had no guidance counselors (a (service particularly emphasized in the school's original proposal), it was explained that personnel hired for this purpose in the past had not worked out well; so the two school principals (for Phase I and Phase II) had taken over the function; the male principal would counsel boys and the female principal would counsel girls. They had had no problem, they said, in handling all the children who had come along. The perception of teachers, on the other hand, seemed to be that one could not count on finding administrators present and available to counsel children; so pupils needing guidance were rarely sent to get it.

Conclusions

On the basis of evidence considered in this chapter, it appears that Rough Rock had demonstrated unusual ability to attract a promising staff. The teachers apparently had strong belief in what the school was attempting to do. They were young, "unspoiled" by too much exposure to instructional conventionality, liberally educated, and positive in attitude toward Navaho culture. Many of them were Navaho, an advantage which, according to classroom observations reported in chapter 5, may have been considerable. In addition, some Anglo teachers at Rough Rock had at least a working knowledge of the Navaho language. Rough Rock's teachers said they wanted Navaho elements in the curriculum, though they may have differed on how much there should be. In recruiting them, the school apparently had emphasized its experimental nature, and they seem to have responded for good reasons. They were not preoccupied with pupil control.

But lack of experience and formal training is a hazard as well as an opportunity. The school seemed to be doing little to overcome the hazard and maximize the opportunity. As the classroom observations in chapter 5 indicated, the teachers were given little curricular structure to ease the problem of acquiring instructional skills, and inservice training, whether assessed by what teachers reported or by what we saw, was spasmodic and unplanned, consisting mostly of a presentation now and then from a visiting consultant whose ideas appealed to comeone on staff.

A much more serious phenomenon, however, was the drastically low morale. It must have affected instruction adversely, especially since most teachers were new to their classrooms. As earlier comments suggested, we think the teachers' depressed spirits were partly attributable to circumstances difficult to avoid, such as the physical isolation, the administrative change-over, the presence of visitors, and experimental conditions. The latter factor could easily be overemphasized, however, for the Phase II classes, particularly, impressed us as conventional.

There were other reasons for low morale, we are forced to conclude, that might have been avoided. It should not have taken four months to give teachers a firm idea of what the new administration stood for. There was little justification that we could discern for personnel policies that made it difficult for teachers to slip away to refresh their spirits occasionally. The practice of hiring a new staff each year, for all practical purposes, must have had disastrous effects on instruction. Teachers did not have to be given the impression that they would be fired if they complained or made suggestions. The lack of articulation in the curriculum, coordination among various components of the school, and communication among groups was the worst, we think, that we have seen in some time. In basic terms, we must agree with the teachers that administrators were simply not attending to the school's internal affairs.

On the basis of these conclusions, we think the following recommendations, at least, are warranted:

1. The school's practice of recruiting many teachers who lack conventional backgrounds of training and experience should be continued, but only if the school finds ways of dramatically curtailing staff turnover and of instituting sustained, well integrated programs of pre-service and inservice training.

2. Workshops offered by consultants flown in from afar are occasionally useful, but they should not be used as a central in-service training device. The school should develop the intensive, well integrated training programs it envisioned in its original proposal to OEO. It might consider, for example, bringing to Rough Rock, for a year at a time, professors on sabbatical leave whose fields are particularly relevant to Rough Rock's goals. It should arrange for its teachers to take part in training programs of the type that we found at Rock Point. It has a few teachers on staff whom others could profitably observe. A constantly available teachers' lounge might facilitate the exchange of ideas among teachers significantly, along with the development of supportive social relationships. It should send its teachers to other schools for Navahos that are experimenting with new approaches, (the apparent assumption should be abandoned that nothing good

can come out of BIA schools.) Current administrators at Rough Rock are surely capable of developing other approaches to a unique, sustained program of on-the-job teacher training.

3. Personnel policies should be devised to ameliorate and counteract, as much as feasible, the sense of isolation and insecurity many teachers and other employees feel at Rough Rock. It should be made clear that once the school has brought a teacher to Rough Rock it feels some responsibility to help him develop rather than discarding him if he does not quickly measure up to expectations. Staff members should be encouraged to take occasional trips, to go away to summer school (as another approach to inservice training), to go to Europe for the summer. A salary schedule with adequate and regular increments should be used to encourage staff stability.

4. When new staff members arrive at Rough Rock, they should be welcomed and provided with the information they need to begin settling down and adjusting to the program. Activities should be organized to help them become members of social groups.

5. The newly formed teachers' organization should be drawn into the school's decision-making structure. Perhaps it may serve as the beginning of the curriculum-planning group recommended in chapter 5. As we suggested earlier, the Navaho Curriculum Center should be redesignated as a general curriculum center and made responsive to teacher-identified needs.

6. The director of the school should establish firm but equitable guidelines for his administrative staff, pinpointing responsibility and holding individuals firmly accountable for the performance of their duties. Policies should be instituted to ensure that some staff members are always on hand, during regular hours, in each of the school's major offices.

7. No administrator's close relatives should be permitted to hold positions in which they report directly to him. Consideration should be given, over a period of time, to curtailing in other ways the existing pattern of husband-wife appointments. It might be preferable, we think, to pay top administrators a little more liberally and to insist that their wives and husbands not hold full-time jobs at the school. In

the case of other employees, the issue is far less critical.

Several other recommendations that are pertinent to teacher concerns mentioned here were discussed in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 7

PUPIL ATTITUDE AND ACHIEVEMENT

In chapter 3, we considered evidence relating to one area in which the Rough Rock experiment was designed to produce a definite pay-off: community control and development. Since that point we have been discussing, not so much the school's intended output as the processes through which the output was sought.

In the present chapter, we turn again to outcomes. As we noted in chapter 1, Rough Rock's leaders avowedly sought a higher level of social-psychological functioning in the child and more efficient learning in the Navaho and Anglo elements of formal and informal instruction. In this connection, we will examine four bodies of evidence: first, data on pupil anxiety from our observations and an objective scale individually administered in Navaho; second, evidence on acculturation from two items designed particularly for Navaho children and from structured pupil interviews; third, indications from the pupil interviews with respect to educational and vocational aspirations; and fourth, some figures from achievement tests.

Pupil Anxiety

A researcher must guard against premature conclusions--against "making up his mind" about the phenomena under study before he has had opportunity to examine the data thoroughly. On the other hand, anthropological methods have been severely criticized for failing to provide enough self-corrective measures and particularly for a deemphasis on formulating hypothesis in advance of data analysis. There seemed to be merit, consequently, in having one member of the team run some limited risks of premature closure by making predictions on pupil anxiety that could later be tested against objective data. The director of the study had nothing to do with the collection of data on the anxiety scale, discussed later. He adopted the strategy, consequently, of hazarding tentative comparisons from time to time between Rough Rock pupils and pupils in the other two dormitory schools, particularly with respect to apparent anxiety.

While at the Chinle Boarding School, for example, he recorded the following impressions, which were not communicated to any other members of the team until the study was virtually over:

(1) November 12: If these kids are anxious, I certainly don't detect it.

(2) November 14: We have been here three days, and now I practically have to run the gauntlet to get through the boys' dorm to the isolation room. Every boy wants a response to his "Good evening," and about half of them (practically all within reach) want a handshake. Last night as I came through, they asked for my name. . . . When I responded, "Jimmie Begay," they immediately chorused, in the ESL pattern, "My name is Jimmie Begay!" "My name is Jimmie Begay!"

In the line at the dining room, too, several wanted to shake hands.

This is the opposite of what I expected to see. The kids here seem less threatened by adults than were the kids at Rough Rock. There is less averting of heads. The communication reaches farther. They seem happier in the dorms. I get less of a sensation of herding. There are fewer strident commands. In fact, I believe I have seen fewer children crying here than at Rough Rock.

(3) November 15: Walked through big boys' dorm. It is my impression that the atmosphere is more supportive among the smaller boys, although the big boys were obviously getting a kick out of pushing their floor polishing cloths down the length of the wing at great speed. They have an irrepressible sense of humor.

When I returned to the small boys' dorm, four boys who were not well were sitting in two double bunks eating breakfast. They volunteered that the breakfast was good. When I mentioned that I was hungry, one of them offered me his container of jelly. . . . When I left, as usual I had to shake hands. They grin and chatter in Navaho about it.

The following example is drawn from the Rock Point notes:

November 23: As I was moving up and down the hall last night, bringing items from the car to my room, a Navaho boy of about eleven who was using a drinking fountain suddenly looked up and asked, "What is your name?" I told and asked, "What is your name?" "Raphael," he said. He then wanted to know where I lived and reciprocated by informing me /falsely, as I learned later/ that he was from Albuquerque. He seemed quite uncowed and unafraid. This is the first time I have had a Navaho boy speak to me so directly on the very first night of my coming to a dorm.

As I went through the breakfast line this morning, I was again suddenly confronted with questions from a Navaho boy. This boy was more like twelve or thirteen years of age. He asked first where I was from, and when he seemed to have no idea where Chicago was, I explained its relationship to the Great Lakes. There was a delightful atmosphere in the breakfast line, delightfully relaxed. The children chattered to each other in soft, chirp-like tones.

And at Rough Rock:

(1) November 18: (In the dining hall) Whereas at Chinle one child in ten might fail to respond to a "Hi!" or "Hello!" the ratio here is reversed. Much more averting of heads.

(2) November 21: This afternoon I found a nice relaxed atmosphere in the boys' dorm. Boys were sitting around in groups, making different designs with string held between the hands. I have never previously seen such a lack of tension in the RRDS dorm.

At this point, we have reproduced these notes strictly as one individual's impressions and nothing more, subject to all the biases to which impressions of this type are known to be susceptible. Later we will examine several reasons why we could have misperceived the underlying "reality" at Rough Rock and elsewhere. But it is important to observe that, on the basis of impressions of the type illustrated above, the prediction was entered into our notes on November 23, 1968, that scores on the anxiety scale (whose data were as yet not available to permit comparisons) would tend to be highest at Rough Rock, lowest at Rock Point, and at an intermediate level at Chinle Boarding.

One of the last decisions made before beginning the main phase of our study at Rough Rock was to gather data from an objective anxiety scale that could be compared against more subjective impressions, even if we could not firmly establish the scale's validity. The information might be interesting, at least, in our study, and it might function as a basis for further research. A rapid search of the literature suggested that we adapt some scale referring to psychosomatic symptoms. Reading about Navaho culture and talking to people who knew the Rough Rock area, we noticed several reports that Navahos had reacted to stress by experiencing choking sensations, abdominal pains, or other physical symptoms. We were further encouraged while conducting the study when the Navaho school nurse at Chinle volunteered that the local clinic was flooded with pupils reporting indigestion and other ailments at the beginning of each year, but that the complaints gradually tapered off, apparently as the youngsters adjusted to another period of separation from their homes. Navahos showed their frustration, she asserted, not by throwing a tantrum, but by becoming ill.

We examined several scales of the type mentioned, securing the help of Gary Witherspoon, a long-time student of Navaho culture identified earlier, in selecting items believed appropriate to pupils like those in our sample. As it turned out, the final selection was very similar to the Cornell Medical Index. Since we will not attempt to establish the premise that our anxiety scale was clearly valid, we will merely observe here that some validity has been established for the CMI on a number of populations and that, in one study, the scale predicted, at a statistically significant level, which Navaho adolescents would be diagnosed as abnormal when evaluated by a psychiatrist.[1]

The items we used were as follows:

1. Do you bite your nails or chew your pencil?
2. Can you feel your heart pounding in your chest?
3. Have you fainted more than two (2) times? (Passed out)
4. Do frightening thoughts keep coming into your mind?
5. Does your thinking get mixed up when you have to do something fast?
6. Do you sometimes wet in your clothes?
7. Do you catch a lot of bad colds?
8. Do you often get very angry?
9. Do you sometimes wet your bed?
10. Do you often have bad dreams?
11. Do you usually have trouble falling asleep?
12. Do you find it hard to breathe?
13. Do you have many small accidents? (falling down, cuts)
14. Have you had a lot of trouble with your teeth?
15. Do you get up tired in the morning?
16. Do you usually have bad pains in your arms and legs?
17. Do you get many stomach aches?
18. Do you cry a lot?
19. Is your appetite usually poor?
20. Do you get dizzy a lot?
21. Do you get diarrhea very often?
22. Do sudden noises make you jump or shake very badly?
23. Do you get many bad headaches?
24. Are you frightened by noises or movements in the night?
25. Are your feelings easily hurt?
26. Did you ever have a fit or a convulsion?
27. Do your eyes usually twitch or water? (Blink or run)
28. Do you often feel a choking in your throat?
29. Are you always sick and unhappy?
30. Is it always hard for you to make up your mind?
31. Do your eyes hurt a lot?
32. Do you worry about many things?
33. Have you had many bad nosebleeds?
34. Do you cough a lot?
35. Do you often feel unhappy and depressed?

The anxiety scale was placed at the end of the pupil interview schedule and individually administered in Navaho, to the pupils in our four-school sample (selected by the methods discussed in chapter 1) in the manner discussed in detail in chapter 4. Subsequently, in January, 1969, we readministered the same scale, using the same methods as previously to a stratified random subsample of the same pupils in the three boarding schools in our study.[1]

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[1] L. G. Nelson et al., "Screening for Emotionally Disturbed Students in an Indian Boarding School," American Journal of Psychiatry, 20 (June, 1964).

All response sheets from the anxiety scale were scored independently by two individuals, and discrepancies were corrected by a third reference to the responses. Data were card-punched, verified for accuracy, and analyzed on the 7094 computer at the University of Chicago.

We first performed separate item analyses and factor analyses on the responses from the two administrators of the scale. We used for these analyses data only for pupils for whom we had several types of additional information that we wished to use to throw light on the scale's validity. We decided later that the manner in which the initial analysis of validity was ordered was conceptually indefensible, and we plan, when the pressure of producing this report is past, to rethink the problem, redo the analysis, and publish the results. For the present, the significant point is that, according to the item analyses and factor analyses, performed on nonidentical groups from our pupil sample to whom the scale was administered at different times, the internal consistency of the scale is impressive. In terms of Kuder-Richardson Formula 20, the internal reliabilities are: for the first administration, .874 (N=55), and for the second administration, .815 (N=20). Examining data from the item analysis and factor analysis, we decided that it was defensible, and would facilitate the comparisons we wished to make for this report, to use as the variable in our further calculations the total number of "yes" responses of each pupil to the 35 items in the scale.

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[1] We selected at random an equal number of pupils for each sex and year of schooling at each school, with the exception of seventh-year boys. Since our male Navaho field worker was no longer available, and since we had reason to believe the older boys would not respond well to questions from a young woman, we omitted this group. We then drew, in random order, a list of "substitute" pupils from each group. Our two female Navaho field workers were instructed to begin drawing pupils from the top of the relevant substitute list whenever a child in the target subsample was absent from school or otherwise unavailable. We further apportioned the names in such a way that neither of the field workers would reinterview a pupil whom she had interviewed before Christmas. Since we were eager to obtain as much retest data as possible, we permitted the field workers to interview some additional pupils from the substitute list when they had exhausted the regular list.

Table 7.1 reports the mean scores of the two sexes for each year of schooling for each of the four schools, followed by the results of a three-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 7.1 Means on Anxiety Scale, November - December, 1968

		School			
		Chinle Boarding	Chinle Public	Rough Rock	Rock Point
Year 1	Boys	19.0 (N=7)	11.7 (N=3)	20.1 (N=7)	17.6 (N=9)
	Girls	16.3 (N=14)	25.0 (N=1)	21.0 (N=11)	18.4 (N=10)
Year 3	Boys	9.5 (N=8)	9.0 (N=2)	13.5 (N=8)	12.7 (N=9)
	Girls	13.4 (N=12)	23.0 (N=2)	20.4 (N=10)	19.8 (N=11)
Year 5	Boys	10.8 (N=8)	18.0 (N=4)	14.8 (N=5)	10.0 (N=9)
	Girls	11.4 (N=7)	20.0 (N=1)	14.6 (N=5)	18.7 (N=6)
Year 7	Boys	9.2 (N=10)	12.7 (N=3)	10.3 (N=3)	9.9[a] (N=8)
	Girls	16.3 (N=10)	13.0 (N-3)	18.6 (N=8)	17.8 (N=8)
Year 9[b]	Boys	- -	- -	9.4 (N=5)	- -
	Girls	- -	- -	12.8 (N=5)	- -
			Total N=232		

[a] In the analysis of variance which follows, 3 data-cards from this cell were inadvertently omitted in computer runs. For this cell, the mean shown for the analysis of variance was 10.8, the n, 5. It appears, then, that sex differences, year differences, and between-school differences may be slightly underestimated in the analysis of variance.

[b] Data for the ninth year of schooling, available only at Rough Rock, were not included in the analysis of variance.

Analysis of Variance[a]

Source	Degrees of Freedom	F Ratio	P less than
Year of Schooling	3	9.3266	.0001
School	3	7.0661	.0002
Sex	1	31.9696	.0001
Sex x Year	3	3.8359	.0108
School x Sex	3	1.3136	.2714
School x Year	9	1.3957	.1926
School x Sex x Year	9	1.5276	.1408

[a] Least square estimates of effects and their standard errors are listed in Appendix D.

Anxiety score means differ significantly between schools. A comparison of least square estimates with their standard deviations (Appendix D) indicates that Rough Rock is significantly higher than Chinle Boarding but does not differ significantly from the other two schools. Year of schooling and sex interact; the apparent interpretation of the interaction is that the sexes differ in the third year of schooling but not in the first.

Assuming there is some validity in the anxiety scale, our prediction concerning pupil anxiety was substantiated to the extent that Rough Rock had the highest scores of the three boarding schools (though not significantly so with respect to Rock Point).

Our primary intention in readministering the anxiety scale in January, 1969, was to obtain test-retest reliability coefficients. As we will indicate in more detail later, however, we thought we detected a pronounced change in the Rough Rock dormitories in January, as compared with the situation before Christmas. Test-retest coefficients would be meaningless in the light of indications that the phenomenon purportedly reflected by the scale had changed; so the data from the two administrations were used for another purpose: to test the hypothesis that pupil anxiety was lower at Rough Rock after Christmas than it had been before Christmas. As compared with our 4 1/2-day stay at Rough Rock in January, we spent only 1 1/2 days at the other two schools. As a consequence, we did not feel we had observed pupils enough to make judgments concerning pupil anxiety at Chinle and Rock Point in January.

Table 7.2 provides the differences in anxiety scale scores (in terms of decreases) for all pupils to whom the scale was administered before and after Christmas, along with means for differences over time and 97 per cent confidence intervals. The prediction that scores at Rough Rock would be lower after Christmas than before was substantiated. There was an even clearer reduction in anxiety scale scores at Rock Point over Christmas. Virtually no suggestion of a decrease occurred at Chinle Boarding.

Table 7.2 Decrease in Pupil Anxiety Scale Scores from November-December, 1968, to January, 1969

		Chinle Boarding	Rough Rock	Rock Point
First Year	Boys	03	05	00
		-09	14	-02
		06	05	06
				10
				20
				07
	Girls	-04	04	-02
		-09	-05	12
		-01	02	12
Third Year	Boys	06	06	00
		-02	-04	-01
		07	-04	-03
			-02	
	Girls	-07	-02	02
		-06	03	02
		-01	06	03
			07	00
			02	
Fifth Year	Boys	06	-02	02
		03	04	07
		-01	05	03
	Girls	05	07	01
		00	-05	-02
		-01	11	-05
			04	04
				02
Seventh Year	Girls	07	00	08
		02	01	-03
		-03	04	09
		-01	08	03
		05	11	04
		02		
	Total	07	77	89
	Mean	0.29	2.87	3.07
	N	24	27	29
	S.D.	4.8	5.1	5.4
95% Confidence Interval (2 S.D. ± M)		2.2 to -1.6	4.8 to 0.9	5.1 to 1.1
SE_m		$\frac{4.8}{4.9}$ = .98	$\frac{5.1}{5.2}$ = .98	$\frac{5.4}{5.4}$ = 1.0

How should we regard these purported measures of pupil anxiety? To the extent that the predictions coincided with results from the anxiety scale, we have demonstrated some concurrent validity. To the extent that they did not coincide, we have a conceptual problem. We predicted, accurately, that Rough Rock would have a higher mean score for pupil anxiety than Chinle and that scores at Rough Rock would be lower after Christmas than before Christmas. We predicted incorrectly that anxiety scores for Rough Rock would be higher than those for Rock Point and that Rock Point's would be lower than those for Chinle; Rock Point turned out to be similar to Rough Rock in this regard. One interpretive alternative is to place no faith in our impressions (on which the predictions were based) or the anxiety scale, or both. Another is to seek an explanation for why the predictions were correct in some cases and incorrect in others. The most obvious explanation, we think, is that the director of the study saw little of the classrooms at Rock Point, basing the predictions almost entirely on observations made in the dormitory and dining hall. But we know that when the pupils at Rock Point were in the classrooms they were subjected to very strong pressure to perform, unlike the situation at Rough Rock and Chinle. There is some likelihood, then, that the apparently relaxed atmosphere in the Rock Point dormitory was misleading as an indication of pupil anxiety generally, more than it would have been at the other two schools. We are inclined to conclude, that we have established a modicum of concurrent validity for our impressions concerning pupil anxiety and for the anxiety scale and that, consequently, some limited confidence may be place in them both. Later in this report we will consider in more detail how the data on pupil anxiety should be interpreted.

Acculturation

In planning for the study, we learned of several self-image items that Dr. Robert Bergman, psychiatrist on the Navaho reservation for the U.S. Public Health Service, had been developing specifically for use with Navaho children. We arranged with Dr. Bergman to refine a set of pictures depicting various stages of acculturation and to use the pictures to gather his own data, independently of our efforts, from the pupils in our sample in the four boarding schools. Fig. 7.1 reproduces the eight pictures Bergman used. He describes the process as follows:

> Originally there were twenty-five pictures which were drawn in an attempt to present a full range of possibilities, and twenty Navaho people, all of them of at least fairly wide experience, were asked to arrange the twenty-five pictures in order of acculturation. The eight pictures which we used were the ones which most consistently were placed in the same order relative to one another, and there was, in fact, a high level of agreement about them.
>
> The item was administered by Mr. Harry Bilagody, one of our Mental Health workers. Each child was seen individually, in private, and in a quiet place. Mr. Bilagody spoke to the children in Navaho. He presented the pictures in a random order and asked each child, first, "Which of these pictures is most like you?" and, when the child had made a selection, he asked, "Which of these would you most like to be like when you grow up?" The questions, asked in Navaho, were phrased identically each time. The children were given all the time they wanted to make a decision. Most made them quite quickly, very few requiring more than a minute for both questions.

Along with Dr. Bergman, we regard this approach as promising, but as needing further refinement and development. We suspect that the responses of girls would be more valid if pictures of Navaho women were used. Much more work could be done to establish validity, even for boys. There is some chance that children may be misled by expressions on the faces in the pictures. Though an obvious attempt was made to keep them equally bland,interpretations of facial expression tend to be individualistic. It is difficult to obtain data of sufficient reliability for comparisons when using only single items of this type; scales of intercorrelated items would be much superior. Nevertheless, we think the data well worth analyzing so long as they are viewed as tentative.

Table 7.3 summarize the responses of pupils to the question, "Which of these pictures /the Bergman Acculturation Pictures/ is most like you?" Confidence limits (95 per cent level) are indicated (calculated from a binomial distribution table) for school-wide percentages. The confidence intervals overlap; the differences among schools do not approach statistical significance.[1] But differences among schools, while not significant, are more consistent for boys than for girls; Tables 7.4 and 7.5 emphasize that fact. Considering boys only, Chinle's percentage (25.0) of "traditional" responses is notably higher than the percentages for Rough Rock (4.8)

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[1] Even if we treat the pupil responses as a continuous variable (a dubious approach), parametric statistics do not help, for the means are very similar (3.98, 3.11, 3.5), and the scores fluctuate widely.

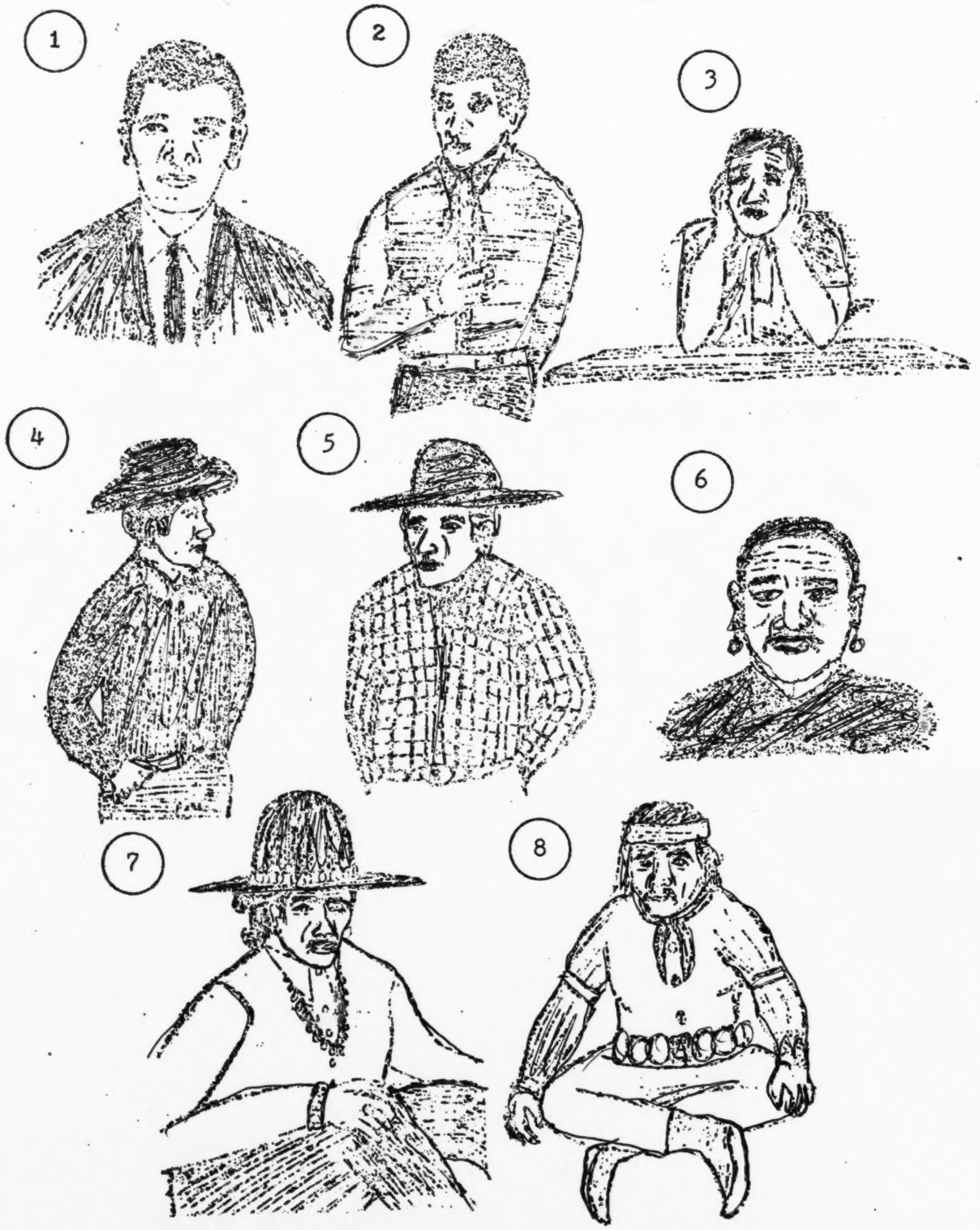

Fig. 7.1 Bergman Acculturation Pictures, ranging from 1, "most acculturated," to 8, "least acculturated."

Table 7.3 Per cent of Pupils picking Traditional Image in Response to Question, "Which of These Pictures Is Most Like You?"[a]

		Chinle Boarding	Rough Rock	Rock Point
First Year	Girls	53.8 (7/13)	50.0 (5/10)	37.5 (3/8)
	Boys	28.6 (2/7)	0.0 (0/4)	0.0 (0/9)
Third Year	Girls	50.0 (5/10)	40.0 (4/10)	70.0 (7/10)
	Boys	66.6 (2/3)	12.5 (1/8)	22.2 (2/9)
Fifth Year	Girls	66.6 (4/6)	20.0 (1/5)	0.0 (0/5)
	Boys	12.5 (1/8)	0.0 (0/6)	0.0 (0/5)
Seventh Year	Girls	12.5 (1/8)	14.3 (1/7)	25.0 (2/8)
	Boys	16.7 (1/6)	0.0 (0/3)	0.0 (0/10)
All Pupils		37.7 (23/61)	22.6 (12/53)	21.9 (14/64)
95% Confidence Limits		26-52	12-36	11-33

[a] For present purposes, we define as "traditional" the Bergman Acculturation Pictures numbered 5 - 8 (see Fig. 7.1).

Table 7.4 Per Cent of Boys Picking Traditional Image in Response to Question, "Which of These Pictures is Most Like You?"[a]

	Chinle Boarding	Rough Rock	Rock Point
First Year	28.6 (2/7)	0.0 (0/4)	0.0 (0/9)
Third Year	66.6 (2/3)	12.5 (1/8)	22.2 (2/9)
Fifth Year	12.5 (1/8)	0.0 (0/6)	0.0 (0/5)
Seventh Year	16.7 (1/6)	0.0 (0/3)	0.0 (0/10)
All Boys	25.0 6/24	4.8 1/21	6.1 2/33

[a] For present purposes we define as "traditional" the Bergman Acculturation Pictures numbered 5 through 8 (see Fig. 7.1).

and Rock Point (6.1), though, because the number of boys is small, the differences are not statistically significant. Considering girls only, the percentages are more alike: 45.9 for Chinle, 34.4 for Rough Rock, and 38.7 for Rock Point.

In Table 7.6 we summarize pupil responses to the question, "Which would you most like to grow up to be like?" Calculating 95 per cent confidence intervals as before, we discover that the differences among schools are again attributable to chance.

In Table 7.7 we indicate the percentage of pupils in each school (grouped by year and sex) who described themselves by referring to a more acculturated image than the one they said they would most like to grow up to resemble. Here, again, the differences among schools are not statistically significant.

But though the tendencies exhibited by responses to the Bergman responses are not statistically significant, they should not merely be dismissed out of hand. If we had a scale of several items, and consequently greater reliability, if pictures of women rather than men were used to elicit reactions from girls, if the sample were larger, and if other refinements were introduced, the relationships suggested by the present data might come through unequivocally. If so, they would raise

Table 7.5 Per Cent of Girls Picking Traditional Image in Response to Question, "Which of These Pictures Is Most Like You?"[a]

	Chinle Boarding	Rough Rock	Rock Point
First Year	53.8 (7/13)	50.0 (5/10)	37.5 (3/8)
Third Year	50.0 (5/10)	40.0 (4/10)	70.0 (7/10)
Fifth Year	66.6 (4/6)	20.0 (1/5)	0.0 (0/5)
Seventh Year	12.5 (1/8)	14.3 (1/7)	25.0 (2/8)
All Girls	45.9 17/37	34.4 11/32	38.7 12/31

[a] For present purposes we define as "traditional" the Bergman Acculturation Pictures number 5 through 8 (see Fig. 7.1).

Table 7.6 Per Cent of Pupils Picking Traditional Image In Response To Question: "Which Would You Most Like To Grow Up To Be Like?"[a]

		Chinle Boarding	Rough Rock	Rock Point
First Year	Girls	30.8 4/13	80.0 8/10	50.0 4/8
	Boys	42.9 3/7	0.0 0/4	11.1 1/9
Third Year	Girls	50.0 5/10	20.0 2/10	40.0 4/10
	Boys	66.6 2/3	12.5 1/8	11.1 1/9
Fifth Year	Girls	33.3 2/6	20.0 1/5	0.0 0/5
	Boys	0.0 0/8	16.7 1/6	0.0 0/5
Seventh Year	Girls	0.0 0/8	14.3 1/7	37.5 3/8
	Boys	33.3 2/6	0.0 0/3	0.0 0/10
All Pupils		29.5 18/61	26.4 14/53	20.3 13/64
95% Confidence Limits		18-44	15-41	11-33

[a] For present purposes we define as "traditional" the Bergman Acculturation Pictures numbered 5 through 8 (see Fig. 7.1)

Table 7.7 Per Cent of Pupils Identifying With More Accultureated Image Than They Say They Desire.[a]

		Chinle Boarding (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
First Year	Girls	23.1 3/13	60.0 6/10	62.5 5/8
	Boys	42.9 3/7	50.0 2/4	55.6 5/9
Third Year	Girls	30.0 3/10	10.0 1/10	20.0 2/10
	Boys	0.0 0/3	12.5 1/8	33.3 3/9
Fifth Year	Girls	0.0 0/6	20.0 1/5	20.0 1/5
	Boys	12.5 1/8	16.7 1/6	20.0 1/5
Seventh Year	Girls	0.0 0/8	28.6 2/7	25.0 2/8
	Boys	33.3 2/6	0.0 0/3	30.0 3/10
All Pupils		19.7 12/61	26.4 14/53	34.4 22/64
95% Confidence Limits		10-33	15-41	22-40

[a] All pupils were included who chose a more acculturated image (from the Bergman Acculturation Pictures) when responding to the question "Which of These Pictures is most like you" than when responding to the question, "Which would you most like to grow up to be like?" (see Fig. 6.1).

fascinating questions. At Rough Rock, where Navaho culture was held up as desirable and explicitly taught, and where traditional Navahos were constantly available as models for identification, why should pupils see themselves as less traditional than did pupils at Chinle, where these factors were, for all practical purposes, lacking? Could it be that emphasizing a group's ethnic uniqueness is the quickest way to promote assimilation? We will return to this question later.

We included three questions in the pupil interview schedule in a further effort to illuminate the acculturation phenomenon. (The selection of pupils to be interviewed was discussed in detail in chapter 1, and the methodology for the interviews, in chapter 4.) Table 7.8 reports the responses of pupils to the question, "Do most Navaho pupils sometimes wish they were Anglos?" The question was designed to be projective; we assumed that since the pupils would have no way of knowing what most Navaho pupils were thinking, they would report their own feelings, and probably do so more candidly than if we had asked the question directly. The only significant differences in the table are between Chinle Boarding and Rock Point, though once again the tendency for Rough Rock pupils to veer away from the traditional Navaho model is fascinating.[1] Of the 15 pupils who gave reasons for

Table 7.8 Responses of Pupils To Question: "Do Most Navaho Pupils Sometimes Wish They Were Anglos?"

School	Per Cent of Pupils Saying Yes (N)	No (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	42.1 (32)	57.9 (44)	100.0 (76)
Chinle Public	57.9 (11)	42.1 (8)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	56.1 (32)	43.9 (25)	100.0 (57)
Rock Point	72.9 (51)	27.1 (19)	100.0 (70)

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[1] The 95 per cent confidence intervals for the "yes" column are 30 to 52 per cent for Chinle Boarding, 32 to 71 per cent for Chinle Public, 32 to 61 per cent for Rough Rock, and 59 to 82 per cent for Rock Point.

answering yes, 7 explained that Anglos were "smarter" or could speak better English, 6 said Anglos had, were able to get, better jobs, more money, or more possessions, and 2 said Anglos were better looking. We are led to speculate that many Navaho pupils begin to wish they were Anglos when the schools emphasize academic achievement, not only as a value in itself, but, as many teachers in the four schools emphasized, as a prerequisite to jobs and a better living. But academic achievement in most subjects depends on mastery of English, which probably appears to the Navaho to be easy for white children. It is not surprising, then, that Rock Point, which persistently put pupils under pressure in the classrooms, produced a higher proportion of yes responses to this item then did Chinle Boarding, where the academic emphasis seemed relatively low.

Table 7.9 reports pupil responses to the question, "Who is smarter [Navahos or Anglos?]?" Chinle Public and Rough Rock produced the highest percentage of pupils answering that Anglos were smarter than Navahos. The differences among schools are not statistically significant, but nevertheless interesting. Since the two schools with the highest proportion of Anglo pupils produce the highest proportions of Navaho children thinking Anglos are superior, is the perception of white superiority partly a function of classroom competition? In observing that

Table 7.9 Responses of Pupils To Question: Who Is Smarter [Navahos or Anglos]?

School	Per Cent of Pupils Who Say Navahos are Smarter (N)	Anglos are Smarter (N)	They Are about the same (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	9.2 (7)	31.6 (24)	59.2 (45)	100.0 (76)
Chinle Public	5.3 (1)	47.4 (9)	47.4 (9)	100.0 (19)
Rough Rock	14.0 (8)	40.4 (23)	45.6 (26)	100.0 (57)
Rock Point	17.1 (12)	30.0 (21)	52.9 (37)	100.0 (70)

Anglo pupils usually do better, do Navaho pupils attribute better performance to superior intelligence, forgetting that white pupils have all the language advantages in their favor?

In Table 7.10 are summarized the responses of pupils to the query, "What story do you like best?" Children at Rough Rock were clearly different from their counterparts at Rock Point and Chinle in this regard. Half of the Rough Rock pupils, as compared with one-quarter of Rock Point pupils and only 16.1 per cent of Chinle pupils, picked the famous Navaho coyote stories, while relatively high percentage of Chinle pupils, as compared with only 6.8 per cent of Rough Rock pupils, selected Anglo fairy tales. The previous evidence on acculturation suggests that the preference of Rough Rock pupils for the coyote stories was not indicative of identification

Table 7.10 Responses of Pupils to Question, "What Story Do You Like Best?"

Response Category	Percentage of Pupils at Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Chinle (N)	Total Across Schools
Coyote	49.3 (36)	24.5 (23)	16.1 (14)	28.7 (73)
Trickster Fairy Tales, 3 Bears 3 Pigs, Little RR Hood	6.8 (5)	20.2 (19)	41.4 (36)	23.6 (60)
Navajo History and Legend	9.7 (7)	16.0 (15)	11.5 (10)	12.6 (32)
Animal Stories	19.2 (14)	16.0 (15)	2.3 (2)	12.2 (31)
Cowboy--Adventure and Romance	4.1 (3)	12.8 (12)	9.2 (8)	9.1 (23)
Other: Religious, Readers, Interesting	6.8 (5)	8.5 (8)	12.6 (11)	9.5 (24)
Miscellaneous (All, None, Some)	4.1 (3)	2.1 (2)	6.9 (6)	4.3 (11)
Total Usable Replies	100.0 (73)	100.0 (94)	100.0 (87)	100.0 (254)

with, or preference for traditional Navaho culture generally. We are inclined to think that what it did reflect in major measure was the virtually universal availability to Rough Rock pupils of a book called Coyote Stories of the Navaho People, a thoroughly delightful, superbly illustrated collection of Navaho tales published by the school's Navaho Curriculum Center in 1968. The stories would captivate virtually any child (or adult, for that matter), in our opinion, regardless of his cultural preferences, and we know that Rough Rock pupils had been exposed to it extensively.

Educational and Vocational Aspirations

Table 7.11 and 7.12 concern the educational aspirations of younger and older pupils. We asked the pupils in the sample, "What grade do you think you will go to before you stop going to school?" As one would anticipate, the horizons of the younger pupils are limited in comparison with those of older pupils. The only notable differences among schools show up in the proportions of pupils hoping to attend college, none at Chinle Boarding, 9.7 at Rock Point, 18.2 per cent at Chinle Public, and 23.8 per cent at Rough Rock. Only Rough Rock and Chinle Boarding differ significantly in the statistical sense, though the differences between Rough Rock and Rock Point are large enough to be interesting and, to us, quite unanticipated. Why

Table 7.11 Reponses of Younger Pupils to Question: "What Grade Do You Think You Will Go To Before You Stop Going To School?"

	Per Cent of First and Third Year Pupils Saying						
School	Less Than 8th (N)	8th Grade (N)	9th, 10th or 11th Grades (N)	12th Grade (N)	Vocational School (N)	College (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	29.2 (12)	2.4 (1)	22.0 (9)	39.0 (16)	0.0 (0)	7.3 (3)	100.0 (41)
Chinle Public	12.5 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	75.0 (6)	12.5 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (8)
Rough Rock	11.1 (4)	8.3 (3)	8.3 (3)	69.4 (23)	0.0 (0)	8.3 (3)	100.0 (36)
Rock Point	41.0 (16)	2.6 (1)	7.7 (3)	43.6 (17)	0.0 (0)	5.1 (2)	100.0 (39)

should Rock Point, which seems to feature the greatest press toward academic achievement, produce so little academic aspiration? Why should Rough Rock be so high, given the relative lack of push in the classrooms and the time and attention devoted to Navaho culture? We think at least the hint of a partial explanation is provided in Table 7.13, which summarizes pupil answers to the question, "Who do you like best?" Of the pupils whose answers could be categorized, Rough Rock had the highest percentage of pupils identifying with teachers or administrators (14.0), as compared with only one pupil out of 70 at Rock Point (1.4 per cent), 3.9 per cent at Chinle Boarding, and none at Chinle. These differences, again, are not statistically significant, but they are nevertheless interesting. They suggest tentatively that one reason for the relatively disappointing level of academic aspiration at Rock Point is a backlash against the instructional pressure. Pupils may be finding it difficult to identify with the teachers who push them so hard. It is also interesting that the highest percentage of pupils identifying with dormitory aides is found at Chinle, where the dormitory program is so highly structured, while the lowest percentage is found at Rough Rock, which set out to develop the most congenial dormitories. But perhaps the most dramatic indication in the table is this: not one

Table 7.12 Responses of Older Pupils to Question: "What Grade Do You Think You Will Go To Before You Stop Going To School?"

	Per Cent of 5th and 7th Year Pupils Saying						
School	Less Than 8th (N)	8th Grade (N)	9th, 10th or 11th Grades (N)	12th Grade (N)	Vocational School (N)	College (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	2.9	0.0	2.9	88.6	5.7	0.0	100.0
	(1)	(0)	(1)	(31)	(2)	(0)	(35)
Chinle Public	9.1	0.0	0.0	72.7	0.0	18.2	100.0
	(1)	(0)	(0)	(8)	(0)	(2)	(11)
Rough Rock	0.0	0.0	0.0	76.2	0.0	23.8	100.0
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(16)	(0)	(5)	(21)
Rock Point	6.5	0.0	9.7	71.0	3.2	9.7	100.0
	(2)	(0)	(3)	(22)	(1)	(3)	(31)

child out of 57 at Rough Rock selects a dormitory parent as the person he likes best. As we had occasion to observe in chapter 4, it does not appear that dormitory parents functioned at Rough Rock as identification models for the children. We suspect, in fact, that the children may have reacted against them, cast as these parents were into an unproductive and unattractive role.

With Tables 7.14 and 7.15, we consider the self-reported occupational aspirations of the pupils in the four schools. Only two boys and one girl (all three at Rough Rock, interestingly enough) chose traditional Navaho occupations, such as herding sheep and weaving rugs. Two of the three, we discovered in reexamining the original data, were in the first year of schooling; the other, in the third. In other respects, there were no noticeable differences among older and younger pupils in occupational choice. In assembling the data in these two tables, we categorized as unskilled manual the following occupations mentioned by the children: railroad worker, road

Table 7.13 Reponses of Pupils to Question: "Who Do You Like Best?"

Type of Person Chosen by Indicated Per Cent of Pupils	School			
	Chinle Public (N)	Chinle Boarding (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Relative	52.6 (10)	48.7 (37)	57.9 (33)	54.3 (38)
Friend	31.6 (6)	32.9 (25)	15.8 (9)	32.9 (23)
Teacher or Administrator	0.0 (0)	2.6 (2)	14.0 (8)	1.4 (1)
Dorm Aide	0.0 (0)	14.5 (11)	5.3 (3)	10.0 (7)
Dorm Parent	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Other	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Doesn't specify	15.8 (3)	1.3 (1)	3.5 (2)	1.4 (1)
Teacher Aid	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.5 (2)	0.0 (0)
	100.0 (19)	100.0 (76)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (70)

Table 7.14 Responses of Boys to Question: "What Kind of Work Do You Think You Will Do When You Are Older?"

School	Per Cent of Boys Mentioning Traditional Navaho Occupation (N)	Unskilled Manual (N)	Semi-skilled or skilled (N)	Clerical (N)	Semi-Professional (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	0.0 (0)	33.3 (11)	60.6 (20)	3.0 (1)	3.0 (1)	100.0 (33)
Chinle Public	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	90.9 (10)	0.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	100.0 (11)
Rough Rock	4.3 (1)	17.4 (4)	56.5 (13)	8.7 (2)	13.0 (3)	100.0 (23)
Rock Point	0.0 (0)	23.5 (8)	73.5 (25)	0.0 (0)	2.9 (1)	100.0 (34)

Table 7.15 Responses of Girls to Question: "What Kind of Work Do You Think You Will Do When You Are Older?"

School	Per Cent of Girls Mentioning Traditional Navaho Occupation (N)	Unskilled Manuel (N)	Semi-skilled or Skilled (N)	Clerical (N)	Semi-Professional (N)	Total Usable Responses (N)
Chinle Boarding	0.0 (0)	4.7 (2)	53.5 (23)	18.6 (8)	23.3 (10)	100.0 (43)
Chinle Public	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (1)	85.8 (6)	100.0 (7)
Rough Rock	5.9 (2)	2.9 (1)	47.1 (16)	17.6 (6)	26.5 (9)	100.0 (34)
Rock Point	0.0 (0)	8.6 (3)	63.0 (22)	11.4 (4)	17.1 (6)	100.0 (35)

construction, housekeeping, baby sitting, picking potatoes, janitor, farm worker, laundry worker, and mine worker. We included as semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations: brick layer, carpenter, bus driver, cook, painter, dormitory aide, waitress, truck driver, mason, factory worker, and heavy equipment operator. Occupations classified as clerical were: clerk, secretary, cashier, store clerk, and typist. The only semi-professional occupations, and in fact the highest-status occupations mentioned, were nurse and teacher. We were surprised, at first glance, to discover the high percentage of girls in the small Chinle Public Elementary School sample who chose semi-professional occupations, for the tendency seemed to contradict previous evidence that pupils at Chinle Public did not identify with their teachers. The apparent explanation, we discovered, was that five of the six girls in question were aspiring to be nurses, not teachers. No doubt they had made many visits to the PHS clinic down the street and had seen attractive young nurses in clean uniforms. The relatively low percentage of Rock Point pupils, particularly among boys, who choose semiprofessional occupations is not unexpected at this stage, after previous indications that they did not identify with virtually the only semi-professional role models available--Rock Point teachers. All in all, indications are that Rough Rock may be doing better than the other two boarding schools in stimilating pupils to aspire to higher-status Anglo occupations, though the differences are relatively minor. None of the schools can claim a particularly outstanding record in this regard. If we had to guess at the reason, we would say that the range of occupations to which the children in all three schools are exposed is extremely limited. Most of the people the children know are considered fortunate to hold any job at all, no matter how menial. In a community like Rough Rock, the man or woman who holds a menial job at all regularly is wealthy by local standards, an individual of high status. Why should community children aspire to more, especially in a culture that frowns on individualistic competition?

Academic Achievement

Through a cooperative arrangement in May, 1968, achievement test batteries from the California Test Bureau were administered to pupils at Rough Rock, Rock

Point, and two other BIA schools (elementary boarding schools at Lukachukai and Many Farms). The results for the test battery as a whole~~, as summarized at the time,~~ are presented~~ in Fig. 7.2~~. In all four grades in which comparisons between Rough Rock and Rock Point were possible (Rock Point was offering only four grades at the time) Rock Point emerged as superior. In one case, the extent of the superiority was the equivalent of an entire grade-year, as estimated in terms of national norms. In the other three cases, the differences were fairly small. No tests were performed to determine which differences were statistically significant.

In considering the data, we felt that the comparisons between schools would be more conclusive if groups were made strictly comparable with respect to age, sex, and years of schooling. A third-grade class composed of pupils predominantly in their third year of schooling should not be compared with a third-grade class composed of pupils predominantly in their fourth year of schooling, for instance, and a class comprised mostly of girls should not normally be compared with a class comprised mostly of boys--that is, so long as the objective was to assess the relative performance of two schools. A reanalysis of the data seemed particularly warranted since Rough Rock was operating on a "nongraded" system; the grades in which Rough Rock pupils were reported for the achievement test comparisons were of necessity arbitrarily assigned and could have distorted the results.

We secured the names of the pupils from Rough Rock and Rock Point who had taken the achievement tests in May, 1968, recorded the total battery grade-equivalent score for each one (the only score available "across the board"), and determined from BIA and school records (in most cases, from individual cumulative file folders) the age and number of years of schooling of each child, eliminating ambiguous cases.[1] We also determined which pupils were children of school employees. We punched these various data onto cards, verified for accuracy, and assembled tables to compare the schools while controlling for several variables in sequence. When we had identified the comparison that seemed conceptually

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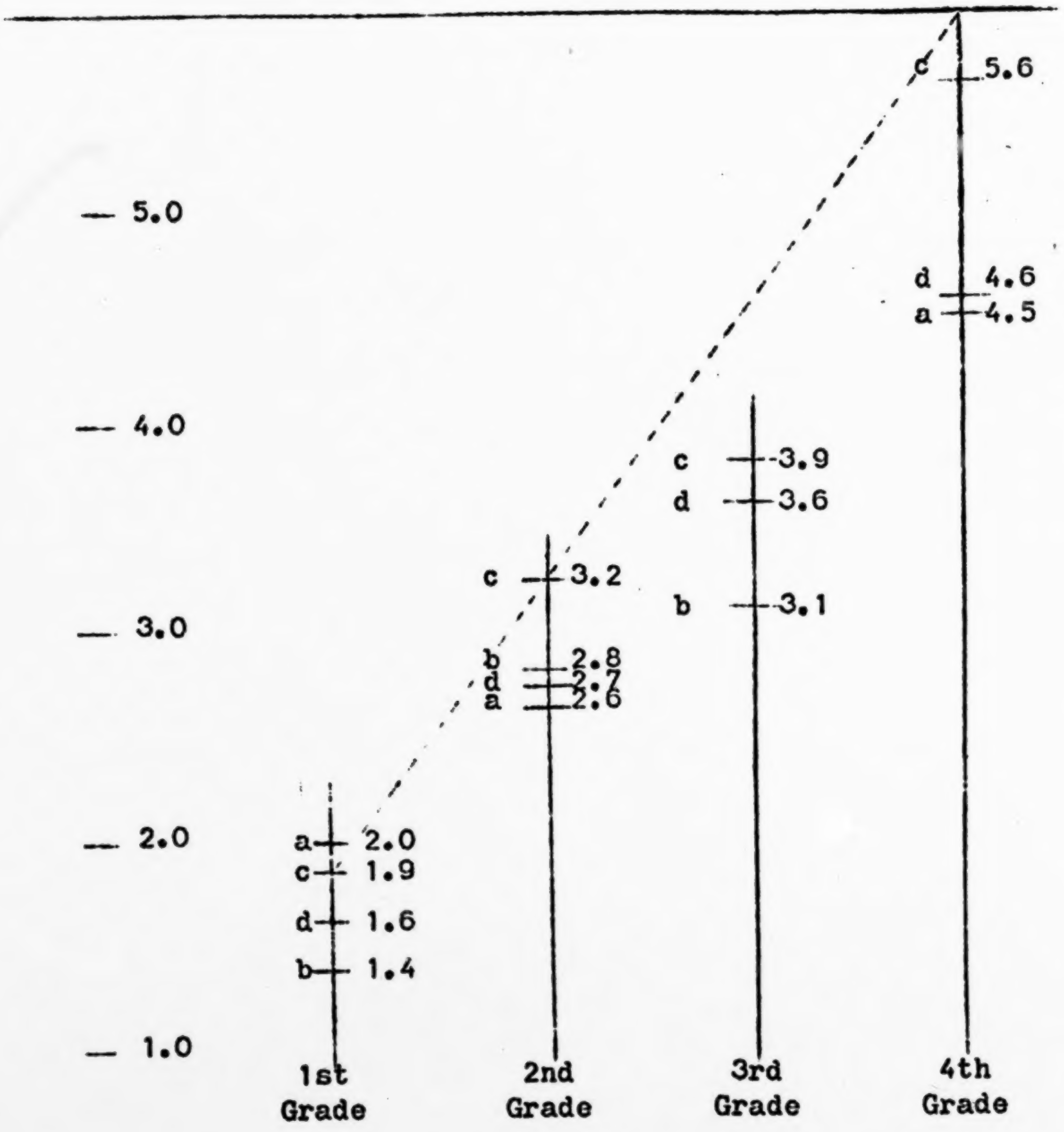
[1] Chapter 1 describes our operational definition of number of years of schooling.



KEY

a	Lukachukai
b	Many Farms
c	Rock Point
d	Rough Rock

Fig. 7.2 Originally Reported Mean Grade-Equivalent Scores on May, 1968, Achievement Tests, Rough Rock and Three BIA Schools, by Reported Grade.

most conclusive, we performed an analysis of variance to provide information on statistical significance and to indicate relationships that might otherwise be overlooked.

Table 7.16 reports a number of comparisons between Rough Rock and Rock Point with children grouped according to reported grade, as in the original comparisons, but with certain variables controlled. When boys and girls were considered separately, Rock Point was ahead in all comparisons, though as before the differences were minor except in the fourth grade. Excluding employees' children from the comparisons makes practically no difference. Neither does it make any practical difference in the comparisons to exclude children who are more than one year over age (that is, who began school year when they were more than seven years of age or who had been "held back" for more than one year).

Table 7.16 May, 1968, Total CAT Battery Grade-Equivalent Mean Scores, by Reported Grade

	Grade and School							
	1		2		3		4	
	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Boys only	1.58 (32)	2.00 (24)	3.08 (22)	3.17 (22)	3.47 (19)	3.86 (21)	4.60 (9)	5.69 (10)
Girls only	1.55 (24)	1.99 (28)	2.81 (24)	3.32 (19)	3.68 (11)	3.85 (21)	4.50 (13)	5.55 (9)
All pupils	1.57 (56)	1.99 (52)	2.94 (46)	3.24 (41)	3.55 (30)	3.85 (42)	4.54 (22)	5.62 (19)
All pupils, employees' children excluded	1.56 (49)	2.00 (42)	2.95 (45)	3.22 (38)	3.53 (28)	3.89 (35)	4.54 (22)	5.57 (17)
All pupils, excluding children more than one year over age	1.58 (47)	2.03 (47)	2.96 (37)	3.26 (32)	3.59 (24)	3.89 (34)	4.44 (15)	5.62 (19)
All pupils, excluding children as much as one year over age and employees' children	1.57 (36)	2.11 (22)	2.96 (22)	3.34 (18)	3.58 (13)	3.96 (19)	4.28 (9)	5.30 (10)

In Table 7.17 we begin comparisons that we consider more defensible, grouping pupils by years of schooling rather than by grade. We think it valid to assume that schools of equal quality should produce similar results in equal periods of time for similar groups of pupils, regardless of the grades to which the pupils are assigned.

2 When boys and girls are considered separately in this way, Rough Rock emerges as slightly superior in one comparison out of eight; in the other seven, Rock Point is superior, though the differences are small except in the fifth year (roughly equivalent to the fourth grade) in which sizeable differences emerged.~~in Table 7~~.16). As previously, excluding employees' children makes virtually no discernible difference in the mean scores and does not alter the comparisons.

In Table 7.18 is the comparison we believe to be the most conclusive for the achievement test data for May, 1966. Pupils are grouped by years of schooling, with all under-age over-age children excluded and with boys and girls considered separately.[1] Since it has been demonstrated that the inclusion of employees' children makes no difference, we have ignored that variable.

In table 7.18, Rock Point is ahead on 7 out of 8 comparisons, and the largest

Table 7.17 May, 1968, Total CAT Battery Grade-Equivalent Mean Scores, by Year of Schooling.

	School and Year of Schooling							
	Year 2		Year 3		Year 4		Year 5	
	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rook (N)	Rock Point (N)	Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Boys only	1.6 (20)	2.1 (15)	2.9 (15)	2.6 (16)	3.2 (19)	3.6 (19)	3.2 (11)	4.5 (14)
Girls only	1.7 (25)	2.0 (15)	2.6 (12)	2.8 (21)	3.3 (11)	3.4 (20)	4.0 (10)	4.6 (13)
All pupils	1.7 (45)	2.1 (30)	2.7 (27)	2.7 (37)	3.2 (30)	3.5 (39)	3.5 (21)	4.6 (27)
All pupils, employees' children excluded	1.7 (38)	2.1 (23)	2.8 (27)	2.7 (34)	3.2 (28)	3.4 (34)	3.5 (20)	4.5 (25)

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[1] If a pupil began school in 1968, he was considered under age and over age if from before or after 1962, respectively. The same principal was applied to each year of schooling.

differences, as before, appear in the fifth year of schooling (roughly equivalent to the fourth grade). An analysis of variance reveals that the over-all superiority of Rock Point is significant at a very rigorous statistical level (.0001). It further suggests, at a level of probability just approaching statistical significance (.0951), that Rock Point's superiority is not uniform across the grades. It is pronounced in the second and fifth years of schooling, but somewhat less noticeable in between.

Table 7.18 May, 1968, Total CAT Battery Grade-Equivalent Mean Scores, Age Held Constant

		School	
		Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)
Second Year of Schooling	Boys	1.6 (14)	2.1 (15)
	Girls	1.6 (17)	2.1 (12)
Third Year of Schooling	Boys	2.8 (14)	2.5 (15)
	Girls	2.6 (9)	2.9 (16)
Fourth Year of Schooling	Boys	2.9 (14)	3.5 (17)
	Girls	3.3 (8)	3.4 (19)
Fifth Year of Schooling	Boys	3.5 (8)	4.4 (12)
	Girls	4.1 (7)	4.7 (10)

Total N = 207

Analysis of Variance

Source	Degrees of Freedom	F Ratio	P less than
School	1	28.7006	.0001
Sex	1	.2800	.5974
School x Sex Interaction	1	.7010	.4035
Year 3 vs Year 2	1	5.8013	.0170
Year 4 vs. Year 2	1	14.8481	.0002
Year 5 vs. Year 2	1	222.7091	.0001
School x Year Interaction	3	2.1526	.0951
Sex x Year Interaction	3	.6731	.5696
School x Year x Sex Interaction	3	.8814	.4518

Rock Point's lead in the second year of schooling (roughly equivalent to the first grade) did not appear significant in the results of the May, 1968, testing program as first announced (see Fig. 7.2), apparently because several important variables were left uncontrolled. The second year pupils at Rough Rock, it should be noted, had received all of their education to that point at the demonstration school (see details of selection of pupil sample in Chapter 1). The older groups had been educated in part in other schools.

Girls did not differ significantly from boys in academic achievement, at least when total battery scores on the California Achievement Tests are considered. For all we know, the sexes may differ significantly on individual subjects. Similarly, there could be subjects in which Rough Rock is superior to Rock Point.

We were disappointed that subject-by-subject comparisons were not feasible on the basis of the achievement test data from May, 1968, discussed above. Furthermore, we had hoped for comparisons involving the Chinle Boarding School in addition to Rough Rock and Rock Point. In January, 1969, consequently, we did some limited achievement testing of our own in the three boarding schools in our sample.

For this purpose we used our regular pupil sample, described in chapter 1, excluding the youngest group (first year of schooling) and including children in the third, fifth, and seventh years of schooling. The first-year group, we felt, was too young to respond well to group-administered tests. We then supplemented the sample by drawing, by the same methods that were used for the main sample, a supplementary sample of pupils in their fourth and sixth years of schooling. As in the regular sample, all under- and over-age pupils were excluded, and all the pupils selected at Rough Rock had attended the school since the year it opened. Since we planned to test only two groups in each school, we drew a roughly proportionate stratified random subsample from the total sample just described; the subsample selected for testing is described in Table 7.19, along with the subsample actually tested. The third- and fourth-year pupils were tested together in one room and the fifth-through seventh-year pupils in another. Regular classrooms were used in all cases.

We knew in advance that the week during which we planned to administer tests was a risky time in a reservation school--the first week after the Christmas vaction. Since the only practical alternative, it seemed, was not to test at all, we accepted the hazards. We did encounter difficulties, some anticipated and some not. At Chinle, particularly, where many pupils attended from distances as far as one hundred miles, bad roads had prevented several children in our intended sample from returning to school. Any disproportions thus introduced with respect to sex and years of schooling are controlled by our statistical technique (analysis of variance with groups differentiated by school, sex, and years of schooling). It is possible, however, that the Chinle sample actually tested contains a disproportionate number of children from somewhat less traditional homes, since there is likelihood that the most isolated homes, generally the most traditional, were the ones from which pupils tended to be absent. We do not know what the effects of this bias might be, though they should be relatively slight since the entire Chinle sample was selected in such a way as to ensure that it was traditional (see chapter 1). Further difficulties arose with respect to standardizing the test conditions. Though we assigned two members of the

Table 7.19. Intended and Actual Samples for Achievement Testing, January, 1969.

Group		Intended and Actual Samples at					
		Chinle Boarding		Rough Rock		Rock Point	
		Int.	Act.	Int.	Act.	Int.	Act.
Third Year	Boys	8	1	9	7	9	8
	Girls	12	5	10	9	11	8
Fourth Year	Boys	11	8	3	3	6	6
	Girls	4	2	4	4	5	5
Fifth Year	Boys	6	6	6	2	6	5
	Girls	6	4	5	5	5	5
Sixth Year	Boys	7	5	7	6	7	7
	Girls	7	5	7	6	7	7
Seventh Year	Boys	6	6	3	3	6	6
	Girls	6	5	8	8	6	6
Total		73	47	62	53	68	63

team (one Anglo and one Navaho) to each testing room, we discovered at Chinle (where we began the testing) that it was virtually impossible to keep all pupils from copying each others' answers. We should have anticipated this problem, for the tendency to copy turned up in our classroom observations (chapter 5). When we moved to Rock Point and Rough Rock, we instituted a pattern of boy-girl-boy-girl seating and found that it inhibited glances around the room remarkably; but in introducing the change, we sacrificed comparability of situations to some extent. Our plan to have two team members present in each room whenever testing was in process was compromised somewhat at Rough Rock and Rock Point. At Rough Rock, one team member left a testing room for about ten minutes without authorization during a reading comprehension test. At Rock Point, a team member was called away through an emergency during the second half of the arithmetic computation test.

In one respect the Chinle pupils may have been disadvantaged in comparison with the other two groups. The tests were administered at Chinle on Tuesday morning, January 7, 1969, just one day after classes resumed after the Christmas vacation. Many roads were still blocked from a Christmas-vacation snowfall, more than 200 pupils were still absent, arrangements were being made to send busses here and there to bring back groups from long distances, and the atmosphere seemed unsettled. Since tests were administered at Rock Point on January 8 and at Rough Rock on January 9, these groups had experienced a longer period of settling down, in addition to having travelled much shorter distances to return to school.

In other respects, so far as we could determine we standardized the testing situations as much as it is feasible to do so. The same personnel were responsible for the same groups in each school. All team members studied the tests and manuals in advance, and a conference of about an hour was held to ensure uniformity of understanding and to emphasize the need to follow procedures precisely. We adopted the procedures delineated in the publisher's examiner's manual, with two exceptions: directions were given in English and Navaho, and explanations concerning test formats were made more extensive, with additional examples, to compensate somewhat for the language handicap. In departing in these ways from the regular approach, we tended to invalidate the applicability of national norms, but our purpose was not to compare the schools with national tendencies but with each other.

To ensure that none of the pupils in the three schools would be familiar with the materials used, we selected a form of the California Test Bureau's Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills that had just recently been made available: Form Q, Level 1. We administered only three tests from the battery: Reading Vocabulary, Reading Comprehension, and Arithmetic Comprehension. The same tests were used for all groups of pupils.

Tables 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22, respectively, summarize the data for the three tests and present the results of an analysis of variance performed on the raw scores from each. There are no significant between-school differences in the three tables. Rough Rock did not differ significantly from Rock Point or Chinle on English Vocabulary, English Comprehension, or Arithmetic Computation. Examination of the means suggests strongly that Chinle Boarding, similarly, does not differ from Rock Point. Why should neither of the experimental schools (Rough Rock and Rock Point) show up as superior to a purportedly typical BIA school (Chinle Boarding) on any one of the three tests? Why should Rock Point, which had exhibited academic superiority to Rough Rock in May, 1968, not do so again? There is no way to be sure, but we are inclined to suspect that the explanation lies in a combination of several factors: Since the samples of pupils were smaller in January, it would be more difficult statistically to detect real differences in the populations sampled. Somewhat different populations were sampled at Rough Rock in May, 1968, and in January, 1969. On the first occasion, practically all pupils in the school were included. On the second occasion, the population consisted of pupils who had attended the Rough Rock school more exclusively; for all we know, there may have been some advantage in this more extensive exposure. A score from a complete battery of tests was derived from the May, 1968, tests, with presumably greater reliability than the single test scores obtained from the tests given in January. The school subjects on which the schools differ (science and social studies, perhaps) may have included none of the two or three used in January, 1969. The conditions surrounding the testing in January, 1969, were far from ideal, and unknown biases

Table 7.20 Raw Score Means for Reading Vocabulary, California Achievement Tests, January, 1969

		School		
		Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Chinle Boarding (N)
Third Year	Boys	8.6 (N=7)	9.8 (N=8)	12.0 (N=1)
	Girls	8.2 (N=9)	9.0 (N=8)	6.8 (N=5)
Fourth Year	Boys	6.7 (N=3)	10.0 (N=6)	8.3 (N=8)
	Girls	7.8 (N=4)	8.2 (N=5)	7.5 (N=2)
Fifth Year	Boys	9.5 (N=2)	16.8 (N=5	21.2 (N=6)
	Girls	21.2 (N=5)	15.0 (N=5)	9.8 (N=4)
Sixth Year	Boys	14.7 (N=6)	18.1 (N=7)	14.2 (N=5)
	Girls	15.8 (N=6)	22.0 (N=7)	14.4 (N=5)
	Boys	17.7 (N=3)	15.1 (N=6)	15.7 (N=6)
	Girls	10.9 (N=8)	19.0 (N=6)	15.6 (N=5)
	Total	N= 163		

Analysis of Variance[a]

Source	Degrees of Freedom	F Ratio	P less than
Year of Schooling	4	15.6677	.0001
School	2	1.2267	.2966
Sex	1	.0419	.8381
Sex x Year	4	.7384	.5675
School x Sex	2	2.3138	.1029
School x Year	8	.6017	.7752
School x Sex x Year	8	1.0048	.4356

[a] Least square estimates of effects and standard errors are listed in Appendix D.

Table 7.21 Raw Score Means for Reading Comprehension, California Achievement Tests, January, 1969.

		School		
		Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Chinle Boarding (N)
Third Year	Boys	12.4 (N=7)	12.6 (N=8)	19.0 (N=1)
	Girls	11.8 (N=9)	12.8 (N=8)	12.2 (N=5)
Fourth Year	Boys	13.3 (N=3)	18.8 (N=6)	12.3 (N=8)
	Girls	14.5 (N=4)	14.0 (N=5)	14.5 (N=2)
Fifth Year	Boys	20.5 (N=2)	24.8 (N=5)	19.8 (N=6)
	Girls	30.4 (N=5)	22.8 (N=5)	14.3 (N=4)
Sixth Year	Boys	22.3 (N=6)	29.3 (N=7)	21.0 (N=5)
	Girls	23.0 (N=6)	29.4 (N=7)	24.0 (N=5)
Seventh Year	Boys	25.3 (N=3)	22.5 (N=6)	23.5 (N=6)
	Girls	26.5 (N=8)	31.7 (N=6)	23.8 (N=5)
	Total	N = 163		

Analysis of Variance[a]

Source	Degrees of Freedom	F Ratio	P less than
Year of Schooling	4	12.2457	.0001
School	2	2.2670	.1077
Sex	1	.3341	.5643
Sex x Year	4	.2676	.8984
School x Sex	2	.1377	.8715
School x Year	8	.6232	.7573
School x Sex x Year	8	.5012	.8536

[a] Least square estimates of effects and standard errors are listed in Appendix D.

Table 7.22 Raw Score Means for Arithmetic Computation, California Achievement Tests, January, 1969.

			School	
		Rough Rock (N)	Rock Point (N)	Chinle Boarding (N)
Third Year	Boys	14.1 (N=7)	13.3 (N=8)	13.0 (N=1)
	Girls	13.1 (N=9)	14.1 (N=8)	19.2 (N=5)
Fourth Year	Boys	27.3 (N=3)	14.5 (N=6)	13.9 (N=8)
	Girls	17.5 (N=4)	17.4 (N=5)	25.5 (N=2)
Fifth Year	Boys	38.5 (N=2)	37.4 (N=5)	51.2 (N=6)
	Girls	29.8 (N=5)	25.0 (N=5)	37.5 (N=4)
Sixth Year	Boys	41.0 (N=6)	43.3 (N=7)	48.4 (N=5)
	Girls	43.2 (N=6)	45.4 (N=7)	34.0 (N=5)
Seventh Year	Boys	54.7 (N=3)	48.8 (N=6)	55.0 (N=6)
	Girls	52.9 (N=8)	47.7 (N=6)	46.6 (N=5)
	Total	N = 163		

Analysis of Variance[a]

Source	Degrees of Freedom	F Ratio	P less than
Year of Schooling	4	74.7693	.0001
School	2	1.3214	.2703
Sex	1	2.5335	.1139
Sex x Year	4	2.3987	.0533
School x Sex	2	.3510	.7047
School x Year	8	1.2702	.2644
School x Sex x Year	8	.9854	.4504

[a] Least square estimates of effects and standard errors are listed in Appendix D.

3

and sources of error may have been introduced as a result. If we take the test results seriously, they are flattering to neither Rough Rock nor Rock Point in comparison with what is regarded as a run-of-the-mill BIA school. It could be, of course, that reading and arithmetic are areas of special strength at Chinle Boarding, and there is some evidence in our classroom observations (chapter 5), in fact, that arithmetic may have been. It is possible, further, that Chinle is much better than it is touted to be. The observations do not encourage us to think so generally, though a few teachers at Chinle Boarding were apparently very effective . It appears, then, that we must simply leave on the record an interesting, unanticipated finding. It is inconclusive and difficult to interpret in the absence of further evidence. We hope further achievement test comparisons will be conducted with Rough Rock, Rock Point, and Chinle Boarding. We would like to know what these data mean.

Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

For a number of reasons, the findings on pupil anxiety in this chapter must be interpreted in somewhat negative terms, as indicating merely that Rough Rock has not demonstrated superiority in this regard to the other two boarding schools in the sample. We are afraid that the relatively high level of anxiety at Rough Rock, as sensed by the research team and reflected in the anxiety scale, may have been an artifact, to some extent, of our presence at the school. As we implied in chapter 4, the Rough Rock dormitories seemed to receive little attention from major school officials; they functioned to a degree as little worlds apart, substantially unconnected to the rest of the compound. When we arrived at Rough Rock, the teachers seemed aware of our function, but we soon discovered that dormitory personnel were confused and uninformed. Some fairly wild rumors began to circulate. There were persistent reports, for example, that people should avoid us, for we were going to recommend that all these local employees be fired. From the standpoint of Navaho dorm parents and aides, the rumor may have seemed entirely logical; we were academics, likely to emphasize the need for college degrees and technical requirements, and they were perhaps sensitive about their limited schooling. If worried and anxious while we were present, they may have communicated this emotional state to the pupils. We suspect that the fears were alleviated by some means or other after we left in December, because dorm people seemed less wary and ill at ease when we returned in January. The reduction in pupil anxiety scores could be partly a function of such a development. We think it interesting, however, that Rock Point's anxiety scores also dropped between December and January, even though the teachers seemed more anxious (probably because of news of impending fiscal cutbacks and rumors that the principal might leave) in January than in December. At Chinle Boarding, the anxiety scores did not change at all over Christmas. One possible explanation is that Rough Rock and Rock Point pupils were refreshed emotionally by the period at home, whereas the pupils at Chinle Boarding, many of them from Pinion (which, as chapter 3 indicates, we believe to be a rather neglected, pessimistic community), went home to worried parents. We think the anxiety scale shows promise for use with Navaho children, and we hope it will be used to gather the other bodies of data without which it is somewhat difficult to interpret.

Dr. Robert Bergman, whose consultative assistance has been mentioned on several occasions in this report, informs us that he has referred five or six emotionally disturbed children to Rough Rock and that in all cases marked improvement has been shown. Since in each of these cases Rough Rock's dormitory personnel were urged to give the children special attention, it is difficult to interpret Dr. Bergman's report as far as the dormitory climate for other children is concerned. The results indicated for the emotionally disturbed children are encouraging and probably reflect the fact that adequate staffing makes individual attention to pupils possible at Rough Rock. In the case of the bulk of the pupil population, however, as we observed in chapter 4, we question the uses to which the available staff time was being put.

A number of findings in this chapter emphasis the need for Rough Rock's leaders to specify more precisely what they mean by the both-and approach. We would like to know, for instance, what they think of the suggested tendency for Rough Rock pupils, particularly boys, to veer away from traditional models and picture themselves as relatively acculturated, somewhat more acculturated, perhaps, than they think truly desirable. Are Rough Rock pupils exposed to traditional Navaho culture so they will identify with it, or so they will more comfortably be able to move away from it? It could be inferred from a number of official statements that pupils were expected to identify with the dormitory parents. Several indications suggest that the pupils may even be reacting against the dormitory parents. Is this good or bad, intended or unintended?

In a number of respects, we felt Rough Rock was doing less than the other two schools to prepare children to function well in Anglo society. The family-style dining room was used for the assembling of monthly reports rather than as a place where Navaho youngsters could learn how to conduct themselves in an Anglo home or restaurant, to cite one example that has symbolic as well as practical import. Yet there was a tendency for Rough Rock pupils to aspire to more education and to higher-status occupations than the children in the other three boarding schools. If, as we suspect, Rough Rock children have a tendency to reject traditional Navaho models, they may exhibit even greater ambition to succeed in the Anglo sense as they encounter a broader range of Anglo or acculturated Navaho models, perhaps in high school or even in college. In recognition of this fact, should the school not give more attention to the Anglo side of the "both-and?" It is hardly rational to promote aspirations while denying the socialization that helps make their realization likely. The almost total absence of children who say they aspire to traditional Navaho occupations must be considered in this regard.

We are disturbed at the percentage of Navaho children, at Rough Rock and elsewhere, who seem to disparage themselves in comparison with Anglos. The phenomenon that must have pronounced practical implications. Does it, for example, lie behind the apparent reluctance of my Navaho board members to assert themselves--as at the Chinle Public School, for example, over a period of years? Leaders of a radical experiment to improve Navaho education should ponder such questions well. What can be done to counteract the tendency? Rough Rock has had little apparent impact on it thus far. We are inclined speculatively to suggest that well designed bilingual programs may have potential in this regard.

It should be noted parenthetically that our data suggest pupils at Rough Rock have responded well to at least one of the books produced by the Navaho Curriculem of coyote tales.

Finally, we must report in response to Navaho leaders who asked us to discover how well Rough Rock was doing academically, that our classroom observations, our probing of teacher concerns, and our achievement data all suggest that there is room for concern. From several standpoints, the May, 1968, achievement test data must be regarded as more reliable than data gathered in January, 1969. They suggest that Rough Rock is inferior to Rock Point academically, and somewhat more markedly so when all important variables are controlled. Little comfort can be drawn from the January data, even if they are accepted as reliable and valid. If they are taken as showing Rough Rock similar to Rock Point, they declare at the same time that the demonstration school, with its vastly superior level of funding for instruction, is no better than Chinle, deliberately selected for our study as a run-of-the-mill BIA school.

In terms of these comments, the following recommendations are offered:

1. Rough Rock's leaders should scrutinize their dormitory program with care, asking serious questions. While our data on the emotional climate of the dormitories are equivocal in some respects, they fail to support contentions that the Rough Rock dormitories provide a superior emotional climate for children.

2. Personnel at Rough Rock should specify more precisely what they mean by the "both-and" approach. (We suspect that Rough Rock pupils are demonstrating an aversion to traditional Navaho culture that was not intended, but in the light of available information, we cannot be sure.)

3. Consideration should be given at Rough Rock to the possibility that the school is stimulating aspirations in pupils that the program is not geared to support. Some adjustments may be called for in this regard, depending on what are determined more precisely to be the school's objectives.

4. Achievement test data, while not entirely conclusive, emphasize the need, suggested earlier, for more systematic attention to curriculum and instruction at the Rough Rock Demonstration School.

CHAPTER 8

HARBINGERS OF CHANGE

One absorbing topic for students of organizations is executive succession. Fascinating reactions occur when leaders come and go. It is likely, furthermore, that leadership skills required at one stage in an institution's development are inappropriate at other junctures. The impulses required to launch an experimental venture, to promote it nationally, and to provide it with liberal funding may often be antithetical to keeping the machinery well oiled and analyzing one's efforts with a cold and critical eye.

There is much to suggest that a critical turning point was reached at Rough Rock when the founder resigned and a new director, this time a Navaho, took over. As we suggested in chapter 6, the euphoria of a new experiment may have passed. The time may have come to promote less and administer more, to buckle down, to give sustained attention to the internal workings of the school. Did the personalities of the two directors--past and present--differ accordingly? What changes did staff members perceive? What directions were likely to be pursued at Rough Rock in the future? And what of Rock Point?

New Directions at Rough Rock

When we asked Rough Rock teachers during November and December, 1968, what changes had been introduced by the new administrator, their comments, though generally optimistic, were tinged with uncertainty and ambivalence, as if it was still difficult to determine the directions that would emerge. We quote some of the teachers directly:

> 1. All have felt a freedom of speech we didn't have. ________ is trying very hard to find stability in the staff. ________ does not have the contacts ________ has.
>
> 2. ________ doesn't like to listen to problems too much. Like in our group meeting, he'll ask us what we think and what problems, and then he'll butt us out, and says "petty stuff" or something. So after that nobody says anything.
>
> 3. Its unbelievable . . . the difference in attitude of the staff, the attitude of the students . . . /Even the students?/ Well, I think the attitude of the students has changed, because the attitude of the staff has changed. To be very frank with you, I think that we had a very low success ratio our first two years here, and I think its because the staff wasn't happy.

4. We've got to have something consecutive. We change the schedule every few days, sometimes. Boy, this is out of this world! . . . ________ is backing us, and he said, "You do what is necessary in the classroom to keep order in there, and I don't want you to send a kid to somebody else to discipline. You do it yourself. Take care of it . . . keep the classroom in order." And I really admire him for that.

5. ____________ just worries about big shots, getting publicity--everything outside the school. He is still on the outside. He is not concerned about the school itself. We don't know where he is. . . . doesn't have enough administrative experience. Doesn't know how to take care of problems, though he is a real nice guy. He doesn't get things done. He is aware of the problems, but doesn't know how to handle them. "I keep wishing I were in ______________'s place and could do what needs to be done." I hesitate to approach ______________ to urge a firmer hand.

6. There is no leader who pulls things together. __________ seems to have no authority at all. I'm not sure he really cares. This is probably just a political step for him. Nobody knows anything. But the teachers are trying to pull things together themselves.

7. We are off to our best year yet. The teacher organization: a response to the breakdown in communication.

8. The educational services area is getting better. Committee now working, getting down to business, talking about contracts, etc.

9. Most of the people who know him personally are shaking him down. I have been tempted to advise him to get tough.

10. There's no curriculum that we're following in, like, social studies, so maybe when they go into the next room next year, I'm going to have covered the same things that this teacher is going to cover.

11. Give us more advance notice of what is coming up. I hear it was better last year. Sometimes I don't know until an hour before something has been scheduled. This is a major complaint among teachers.

There were several hopeful signs. Board members said they were being given more opportunity to participate in the school's decision-making processes. The teachers' organization was getting under way, and appearances suggested that the new director was going to take it seriously. An administrator added to the staff as Phase II principal in the fall of 1968 impressed us particularly. Armed with many years of experience in private college preparatory schools, he demonstrated unusual insight and was trying, quietly but persistently, to introduce more salutary personnel policies. It was his idea, as we understand it, to replace secret evaluations, made by a single individual and reported to the director, with a "self-evaluation" of the school made by teachers. Especially in Phase II, many people spoke hopefully of the efforts this man was making to bring order into the curriculum.

We returned to Rough Rock, in January of 1969, primarily to administer achievement tests, interview board members, and obtain retest data on the pupil anxiety scale. We did not anticipate the dramatic changes that seemed evident on our return. Staff members began stopping us in hallways and on sidewalks to report what had happened since we left.

A teacher who had declared she would leave the school during Christmas vacation stated that the school's director had put an end to the "undisciplined bedlam" in her classroom. Now that the children knew the teacher could do something about their misbehavior, things were much better, she said. She had decided to stay, because she had always believed in what the school stood for.

A man who had indicated his frustration as school-parent coordinator reported that he had been given a new job--"a job I can do." He was now responsible for organizing a wide range of extra-curricular activities for children in the dormitories. (It would have been difficult to find anyone better qualified for the task. He had a remarkable background of experience and knowledge for working with Indian children.)

A Navaho woman who had complained of her inability to function as dormitory-school coordinator was given new tasks, her husband reported, and was happy with her work. She was now assigned to training dormitory parents and counseling with them and the pupils concerning their problems.

A dormitory person volunteered that all aides had been called, one by one, into the director's office, and told of a new dormitory program. A different work schedule was in force, and the aides who now worked from 2:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. were instructed, among other things, to have planned activities for the children every night.

The assistant director for community services noted that his entire area had been abolished as a branch of the school. The era of launching "dramatic projects" initiated by administrators was over, he remarked. He and three staff members were now working, not for the school but for the community, through the local chapter. The school was providing office space, a telephone, and a $40,000 budget, but the Navaho people themselves would decide what ought to be done.

The director of the Navaho Curriculum Center spoke of plans to make the center more responsive to the needs of teachers. Instead of "a big production" of putting out a book now and then, beautifully illustrated and bound, the center should go to a ring-bound photo-offset system, he said. It should concentrate on getting a large volume of usable materials into the hands of teachers--such as an environmental series on science, related to Rough Rock's immediate surroundings, with spaces for field trip observations--such as brief booklets explaining the machinery and equipment encountered by Navahos in the area.

The director of the study thought he detected a different emotional tone in the boys' dormitory. The aides seemed not only to be spending more time with the children, but functioning more as coaches and companions than previously. The children themselves appeared more relaxed and approachable. After the research team had been at Rough Rock for three days, he asked a Navaho field worker who had no contact with the school before the study began to record "any changes you think have taken place since we were here the last time." He did not apprise her of his own impressions. The following are her comments, reproduced verbatim et literatum:

> There hasn't been any shouting in the dormitory in the mornings, telling the girls to get out of bed and to clean their rooms. In fact, there's no bell that use to ring in the morning, when the girls are to get up and to serve. There's bell that rings when the girls are to go to the dining room for breakfast and another bell when the girls are to leave for school. ____________ (Dorm Aide) has been keeping her voice down, when she goes down the Wing telling the girls to do their details.
>
> The first night and to the end of my stay in Rough Rock, everybody has been nice and friendly, which was kind of hard to believe after how people has been the last time we were here.
>
> The first night, we (__________ and I) got to the dormitory about 7:30 p.m. __________ (Dorm Aide) was in the dormitory office by herself. We asked her, where we were staying? and she didn't know. She seemed to be surprise to see us come in. She was complaining that she wanted to go to the movie, but __________ told her to stay with the students that are staying from the movie. __________ said, she'll call __________ (Head of the Girls Dorm) that was over at the gym (movie) with the girls. __________ called __________ and __________ showed us to the isolation room. The room was cleaned and bed fixed.
>
> Some girls came into our room after the movie and __________ didn't chase them out. The little girls were very nice. . . . After __________ brought the girls back, they were told to go to bed. Some older girls stayed up later to watch the late movie on television. . . .

In the dormitory, they have new Dorm parents. I didn't know any of them. As the last time the Dorm parents walks around most of the time. Most of the Dorm parents I've seen around are quite friendly, but I didn't know them that well to carry on an conversation with them.

At the school in the classrooms, I've seen new room mothers too. They're a few that were working before that are still working. The same in the Arts and Crafts there's some new and some that were working before.

Like I say, there isn't any bells to wake up the girls in the morning, but there's one bell that rings telling the girls to leave for school and this is one change I've notice the first thing. The older girls in the west Wing starts leaving for class anytime after the bell rings. This is something different from the last time we were here, They use to line up the girls in the hall to see if they have make-up, lipstick on and check their pockets to see if they were taking candies to school. This time the girls leaves when the bell rings and some take their time, but the dorm parents tells them to hurry and leave. I've talked to some girls and one change that they tell me is this business of going to classes by bell. They seem to like doing this instead of them lining up and marched to the school building. They tell me that this have been changed before they lefted for their vacation on Christmas, and they say they now can take candies to class.

The girls also, leave by bell in the morning for breakfast. The girls know when the bell is going to ring, so they kind of wait around for the bell to sound. The Dorm aides and Dorm parents leaves to the dining hall after all the girls are gone. They don't march the girls over and back like the last time.

The little girls in the east Wing are still being taken to the dining room and to classes by the Dorm aides and Dorm parents.

Another change for the older girls is that they don't have roll calls as often as they did before. They use to call roll in the mornings while the girls are lined up to go to their classes, and at noons when the girls are lined up to leave for classes, and at night after the girls gets into bed. This time they only have roll taken in the evenings when the girls are getting ready for bed.

I don't know about the little girls, because I hardly went on their side of the Wing. I suppose they still have roll calls for them. Things are quite the same for them, but they are allowed in the rumpus room anytime of the day and usually in the evenings I see one of the dorm aides, like_______ playing with the little girls in the rumpus room with dodge ball or jump rope. This is one change I've seen for the little ones.

Another thing, I've notice around the dormitories was, that they had all the end doors painted lime green. The main office building doors were painted the same. And also, in the gym they have half of the gym wall down to the floor painted dark green, and half of the up part painted yellow. This is the Rough Rock school colors and this looks real nice. This is another change I've notice.

One of the change I'm very much surprise to notice was the girls are about three times as friendlier than the last time. The older girls which I've hardly noticed smiles and says, good morning, good afternoon, and are really very nice. The little girls and a couple of the bigger girls were in my room most of the time. I stayed in the West side in the isolation room and the little girls weren't chased back to the East wing.

In a two-hour interview held in January, one of the school's top administrators was asked about these and other apparent changes. We have attempted to preserve his statements as accurately as possible while paraphrasing slightly for the sake of brevity:

> has been dormitory-school coordinator, will now be dormitory-parent coordinator, responsible for recruiting and giving training to dormitory parents. . . . She will take over the job of counseling and training specialist. The dorm people often don't know how to cope with the children. __________ can cope with these problems. She will counsel with the kids and the parents in Navaho and English. . . . The school-dorm coordinator has really never functioned. People don't know what to do and have been too frustrated. There is a great need for training in the dorm. __________ will set up a continuous training program, to be put in operation as soon as possible, including trips to other schools to get ideas.
>
> We are changing the schedule to have the bulk of the people come on duty at 3 p.m. We are planning programs for pupil participation. . . . There is a five-hour space, beginning at 3 p.m., when we need things going for the kids. The dorm will have these things soon. . . . I seem to see too many kids standing around. I want the facilities to be used. . . . During prime time in the dorms we will have __________ getting the kids to run things themselves. He will take about fifteen kids a day riding [horseback] on a rotating basis. He can teach them how to handle a horse, how to develop a horse. We will get 4-H going. About every home in this area has at least one sheep, but they have little knowledge of how to develop a high-grade flock. 4-H may help. __________ will work continuously on extra-curricular clubs with __________ and __________. There is now much use of the gymnasium by the community, but we want more use by the kids. . . . On Saturdays and Sundays I sometimes see kids roaming around with nothing to do.
>
> The story telling program has been reactivated. It will be the dormitory parents' responsibility, along with some of the arts and crafts people. It will take us about three weeks to get going consistently.
>
> We are also working hard on the classroom program. We went easy on everyone at the beginning of the year. The teachers' organization has proposed a salary scale. They had some impressions that were false. We want to establish communication and understanding. There was much grumbling. Some were saying, "The school was a fake for two years," and that kind of thing. The school was not a fake! The demonstration in the past has been mostly community control and Navaho elements in the curriculum. . . . The teachers had the impression not much could be said under __________. Some are afraid to talk. But the majority now feel that they can talk. . . . I have an open door to teachers. . . . In our self-evaluation, "leadership" comes up as our number one weakness. . . . But we don't want to crack the whip. I like to assume that we have competent people. . . . I want the teachers to sit in on planning sessions and help plan. They have suggested a pay scale, a ten-month year, and things like that. I said, "You people make the plans. I want the plans coming from you people." . . . Now we are having metting all over--in homes, dorms, library, and the director's office. There are some tense meetings, but now we have reached an understanding. There were many insecurities, fears regarding tenure, etc. We wanted it clear that we favor the return of teachers next year. It is to our advantage to keep teachers, unless they are really incompetent. It is better to help them improve rather than to

> replace them constantly, even though we have many fine applicants all the time.
>
> . . We are getting more and more interest in adult education, especially in GED /the high-school equivalency program/. We will concentrate much more on this.
>
> We want the arts and crafts people to get at least one hour daily of literacy training. After two years of arts and crafts, we still have no one from the community to teach silversmithing. . . . This is not merely a welfare program, this is a training program to provide a means of income. The board talked to them at two meetings and laid it on the line.
>
> The board is concerned that we have a better plan of organization. The community services is now the Rough Rock Development Project. It is under the chapter, although the board is till in control of the purse strings. __________ is the project director. __________ is the advisor. . . . This will meet the needs of the community much better, rather than to have all the control in the director's office. __________ is not to go out and say, "This is what is good for you people." Let them decide what is good for them. The board doesn't want to be making so many decisions for the community. We want the chapter to get more status. From now on, we will let them make decisions as to what should be done. "Here are the finances. You run it." This will bring about a better relationship in the future. Previously, __________ just didn't get out into the community. There was too much focus on the school. We have not really known what the community wanted. It is not as easy to find out as in a community school in a big city.
>
> We have very good relationships with the trader. He has been very cooperative with the school. Regarding the post office we started--there was once a real attempt to take business from the trader. He was a "villain." But think it over--people get credit from him, etc. If you run him out of business, what replacement is there? Now we are trying to improve things another way. How can the trader, the school, and the people work together? . . . Our purpose is to improve the community. Tit for tat is reasonable.

Later, in March, 1968, we talked by telephone with an educator on the reservation whose judgment we had come to respect. He reported he had been to Rough Rock, where he had visited many times before. He noticed that the bilingual program was now under way in earnest. Teachers were much more enthusiastic than before and working a great deal harder. If the trend continued, he predicted dramatic results at Rough Rock. Professor Werner's report, also based primarily on observations made in 1969, provides further indications of progress. A "committee on integrated social studies" was now active. The curriculum center was preparing a Navaho primer, an instructional tool the teachers would have welcomed long ago.

Though these changes were not of the magnitude suggested in our recommendations (see chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8), we found the trend encouraging, for it reflected an awareness of the school's basic problems.

New Directions at Rock Point

When we returned to Rock Point in January, 1969, we encountered indications that the classroom and dormitory programs might soon disintegrate. A key dormitory administrator, who had been largely responsible for developing the "Free Flow" activity program (see chapter 4), was soon to leave the school. He wanted to talk. It was ridiculous, he said, that BIA personnel were repeatedly subjected to the process now evident at Rock Point. The latest in a series of cutbacks in personnel and funding had just been announced. The Rock Point dormitory, which had been difficult enough to operate with the twelve staff members it had at one time, would probably be cut back to eight by next fall. All personnel above a certain Civil Service rating level would be subject to a compulsory furlough (time off without pay) next summer, a policy instituted to save BIA some money. A dormitory worker who had worked for years to qualify himself for a promotion now discovered that he could not afford to ask for it, because he would become subject to the compulsory furlough in the process, and end up with a lower annual income than at present. How could a dormitory supervisor persuade people to upgrade them selves under these conditions? our respondent asked. Dormitory workers were now being required to spend all their on-duty time, eight hours a day, in the wings with children. Since time was no longer available for planning, the Free Flow program was gradually falling apart.

It was tragic, he said, that BIA personnel were repeatedly made to look like liars in the eyes of Navaho people. Word would come down through the ranks that a new era had dawned in BIA. More money was available, new ideas were in vogue, and everyone should launch progressive programs. People at the local level would work for months to develop something promising, only to have it suddenly undercut financially, usually by Congress. Over a period of years with this kind of treatment many of the best workers would leave BIA in disgust, and most who stayed would become embittered. "Just get something good started for the Indian, and Congress cuts the program!"

We learned next that Rock Point's principal, who was perhaps more uniformly admired by his staff than any other principal we have met, was planning to leave at the end of the school year. One reason for the "bind," he said, was the Personnel Control Act, which required BIA to cut back to 1966 staffing levels. Whenever a staff member left, the position was left vacant as a way of cutting back. Another part of crisis was a massive deficit recently discovered in BIA, apparently as a result of increased costs generally and a policy of moving personnel to higher Civil Service ratings as a way of making salaries more competitive. Word was coming through the echelons that BIA was planning "the most ruthless economies."

> It just looks like it's going to pieces. . . . Many teachers figure they don't even want another year; they're very uncertain about their jobs. People are just giving up. . . . There just aren't any certainties any more, except that it will get worse than it already is. . . . We're short eight positions now on a thiry-three person staff. Now /with the dormitory supervisor leaving/ it will be nine, so that's over a quarter of the people gone. . . . In the last three, four years it really looked like we were going to wake up and join the Twentieth Century. We got some younger people in and we were trying new things. Leadership has been willing to accept new programs and we had a real hot crew of young kids moving in on Washington and wanting to run new programs that we've never had the money or the ability to run before. . . . I'll go back to school now; I think now's the time to do it. I don't intend to sit around here and preside over the disillusions of everybody. . . . It's just too damn discouraging to see your programs go to hell before your eyes.

This is the principal concerning whom Rock Point teachers volunteered the following statements in December:

1. I have had opportunities to leave for administrative positions, but I like the location, and I like working with ____________.

2. I am glad I am here. I could have been in any school and wouldn't have lasted two weeks. The administration is the whole thing. If ________ left, the school might go down the drain.

3. They wait in line to teach here. Mostly it is ____________. ______________ is such an excellent educator, darn hard worker. Does he work us to death! His standards of excellence for himself are stimulating. I wouldn't work for another boarding school.

4. I have been here about a month. I am quite impressed with the school. . . . As for ______________, I just love working with him. People envy me for being able to come here. I have been driving around visiting other schools, and I come home feeling better all the time.

5. I, rather we (my husband and I), really like ____________'s program. In other places, improvements are buildings, formal qualifications of teachers, etc. Here the improvements, the prime considerations, are in the classrooms.

6. We came to Rock Point because of the administration. I was offered a music specialist position, but I turned it down because I wanted __________ for my supervisor. . . . ____________'s reputation is area-wide. He is

known for being so sensitive and efficient. . . . He can be demanding because he is so capable himself. He teaches himself,and teachers have seen him handle kids. They have great respect for him.

7. I have been here for five years. . . . I find ____________ about the best principal I have worked for.

We concluded in January that the auguries were favorable for Rough Rock.

But something of value was about to be lost at Rock Point.

CHAPTER 9

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter we will make no attempt to summarize our findings concerning the Rough Rock Demonstration School. We will not recapitulate our research assumptions and methodologies. We will not reiterate the qualifications we have attached to our data. We will not restate the conclusions and recommendations posited for community relationships in chapter 3, dormitories in chapter 4, instructional programs in chapter 5, or teacher characteristics and concerns in chapter 6. Consequently, much of the discussion that follows will be difficult to understand apart from the preceding chapters.

Our present task, now that many different aspects of the Rough Rock school have been analyzed, is to draw a few general conclusions concerning the school as a whole and the general question of improving communities and educational systems, especially among nonmilitant groups such as the Navaho.

There is little doubt, as we see it, that the Rough Rock Demonstration School represented some of the most significant approaches ever tried in American Indian education. The founder of the school must be given much credit for the role he played. He articulated the ideas, publicized them, won support from Washington, recruited the first staff, established a working relationship with his all-Navaho board, and organized the complex activities. These were major accomplishments. If he was not able at the same time to administer the school's internal affairs with consummate skill, his accomplishments were still impressive. There is reason to suspect, as we suggested earlier, that the impulses needed for those achievements are antithetical to keeping the machinery well oiled and viewing one's own efforts with a cold and critical eye. The very act of publicizing Rough Rock's ideas may have had a major impact on American Indian education. In talking with many educators on the reservation, we discovered that the concepts of the school had become a part of their vocabulary. Virtually everyone was familiar with the demonstration at Rough Rock and wanted to express opinions pro or con. The principal at Rock Point insisted that his freedom to experiment within the structure of BIA was greater because of Rough Rock. From this standpoint, at least, it is our judgment that the Rough Rock demonstration was a marked success. It had far-reaching impact on the thinking of educators. Its concepts were so appealing they could not be ignored. The schooling of Navaho children may be permanently the better for it.

A number of approaches enunciated at Rough Rock deserve to be emulated widely. Assuming that adequate training programs are developed and maintained and that turnover is kept at a reasonable level, we see much promise in hiring local Navahos for school positions, even when they cannot meet the customary BIA "standards." We think these standards, combined with Civil Service requirements, may often inhibit needed staffing flexibility. When operated to a significant extent by local people, a school is less likely to be viewed as a foreign, externally imposed institution and much more likely to be congenial to Navaho children. The concept of using local Navahos as dormitory parents and instructional aides is particularly appealing.

We also see merit, in an experimental school, in hiring young, idealistic teachers with little training and experience, assuming again that that teacher turnover is limited and extensive training is provided on the job. Since we encountered strong indications in two schools that Navaho teachers and Navaho-speaking Anglo teachers had a distinct advantage in the classroom, we hope special efforts will be made on the reservation to attract and develop more of these.

We think the futility of the large boarding school needs particularly to be emphasized, in contrast to the approach at Rough Rock. Nobody interviewed on the reservation defended the emphasis on large schools as logical. According to BIA leaders, the policy was imposed by Washington because it was thought less expensive (in terms of dollars per pupil) than any other approach. We heard disheartening stories of how men from the Bureau of Budget measured distances between children in the dining hall to determine the maximum number who could be seated at a table of given size and used stop-watches to gauge seconds-per child in the "chow line." Though we cannot vouch for the accuracy of these reports, we encountered much on the reservation to suggest the primacy of narrowly defined fiscal efficiency. The large boarding school isolates many children from their parents for most of the school year and makes meaningful community involvement impossible for most parents, particularly in the light of poor roads. When large numbers of pupils must be cared for on a 24-hour basis by a grossly inadequate staff, as at Chinle (selected as an apparently typical BIA school), regimentation is difficult to avoid. Under the appalling circumstances, we thought the dormitory staff members at Chinle deserved particularly to be commended. They worked long and hard and gave every evidence of concern for the children. Except for these efforts and attitudes, we think conditions at Chinle would have been much worse, as many BIA personnel insisted they were, in fact, in other large BIA dormitories.

Rough Rock's use of many Navaho symbols has much to commend it--the half-hogan in the boys' living room, the loom in the girls', Navaho paintings everywhere, the arts and crafts room, the representation of the Navaho creation myth just inside the door of the administration building. These could be emphasized in any school for Navaho children. They could influence a great deal the attitude of pupils and parents toward their school.

The history of both Rough Rock and Rock Point suggests strongly that Navaho parents in communities of that type are interested in the education of their children and will participate extensively when encouraged to do so. There is a strong possibility, we think, that when smaller BIA schools do not demonstrate this involvement something is seriously wrong with the administrator or his staff.

Bilingual programs, under way in earnest at Rough Rock in 1968-69, impressed us as especially promising. We hope that these efforts will be funded at Rough Rock over at least a three- or four-year period and that other bilingual efforts, perhaps structured somewhat differently, will appear in reservation schools. We think that Professor Werner's report (in chapter 5) somewhat underacknowledged one bilingual classroom that we encountered at Rock Point (see the Schwartz report in the same chapter). It was in this classroom that we saw what was to us the most outstanding example encountered of the use of a Navaho classroom aide.

We would recommend refunding of the general dormitory and curricular programs at Rough Rock, as well, though with the monitoring emphases discussed later in this chapter and with the general proviso that the improvements envisioned in our earlier recommendations (chapters 3-6) are essential to progress, whether these improvements are achieved by the specific means we suggested or by alternative methods.

Since some weaknesses detected at Rough Rock may have implications for experimental programs generally, we will discuss them briefly here. The most global statement that could be made, perhaps, was that the primary focus of administrators seemed to be on public relations (information-giving, publicity, and money-getting), that the secondary emphasis was on an employment program for local people, and that other affairs of the school were neglected. The fact that the school was designated as a demonstration may have been partially responsible for this emphasis, as many teachers suggested. Another factor, almost certainly, was the practice of funding the school one year at a time. The attitude was often verbalized that the school could simply not afford, at least for the first two years, to acknowledge weaknesses, for to do so would jeopardize its funding and therefore its very existence. One hightly symbolic reflection of priorities was the production of four expensively illustrated books (three provided Navaho tales and one plainly was a public-relations publication) and the lack of an adequate duplicator for instructional materials.

The results would have been better, we think, if it had been assumed from the beginning that Rough Rock was learning and experimenting rather than demonstrating. Funding agencies should say, in effect, when underwriting such efforts: "Here are funds for X years. Quietly experiment. We will monitor you to be sure you are administering the project efficiently in terms of the broad methods you propose, but we will not look for quick, dramatic results. So long as you seem reasonably efficient, we will maintain the funds until the end of the funding term. If and when your experimentation eventuates in something significant, we may provide demonstration funds. In the meantime, keep your eyes on what you are doing and avoid publicity. Premature claims may backfire when the evidence is in."

As long as experimental (or "demonstration") projects are funded for one year at a time, we think an over-emphasis on the dramatic and perhaps a tendency toward exaggeration may be difficult to avoid. We suggest that ventures of this type should be funded for three-year periods at the very least, or better still, for periods of four or five years, with adequate monitoring of the type suggested above.

Perhaps a comment or two about monitoring methods is warranted in the light of our experience. We think it extremely difficult to determine what is occurring in complicated institutions like boarding schools without fairly prolonged exposure, and it would be ridiculous to attempt serious evaluation without it. Patterns of daily activity, methods developed to solve recurring problems, the implied value systems of children and adults--these are not readily revealed. Often the people who staff experimental organizations are unwilling to expose their problems until they have acquired some confidence in the questioner.[1]

Funding agencies should also make clear that when and if a demonstration is authorized, one of its primary methods will be to make systematic data available. We see little purpose in carrying on an experiment or demonstration without gathering evidence about all important phases of the process. This aspect should be monitored rigorously, even mercilessly. When data-collection ceases, the inflow of funds should cease at once. The educational literature is strewn with examples of innovations and reforms that were triumphant in the eyes of participants but produced no lasting outcomes whatsoever.

At Rough Rock, in our view, the primary result of overemphasis on public relations was inattention to the programs that were publicized and supported. Even in the community development program, which was apparently of higher priority than instruction, we found much evidence of projects hastily launched, carelessly administered, and soon abandoned altogether. Under the circumstances, one can do no more than speculate concerning other factors that might have contributed to the high mortality rate, such as lack of technical advice or incompatibility with Navaho culture. Given the difficult context at Rough Rock (a culture evidencing few entrepreneurial impulses), to devise a community development program hastily or to neglect it later is virtually to ensure that it will fail.

The general deemphasis on careful planning and administrative follow-through was evident as well in the dormitories and classrooms. We were forced to conclude that much of what we saw in the dormitories was not the result of a uniquely Navaho program but of a nonprogram (chapter 4). The instructional programs were the least articulated and thought-through that we had seen in some time. Little discernible attention had been given to bringing the school's impressive ideas down to earth. The concept of adapting programs to Navaho culture is enormously appealing, but the adaptation will require months of effort. What Rough Rock needed more than anything else was a sustained attempt by teachers, administrators, dormitory workers, board members, parents, and even (at times) pupils to identify problems and unanswered questions, devise possible solutions, apply the solutions, obtain feedback, reconsider, refine, cope, revise, evaluate. We thought that many teachers, dormitory workers, and pupils had important insights to contribute, but apparently no mechanism existed to capitalize on them. These people must talk to each other, share problems, give each other ideas and moral support. We would strongly advise, in this connection, a deemphasis on quick-visit consultants flown in from afar, though some of these are needed. Rough Rock is a unique situation. A better approach would be to bring in specialists on a quarterly or annual basis, perhaps using professors from various fields who are on sabbatical leave and looking for an interesting area of research. They need to stay awhile and help work out the problems, not merely exhibit the latest idea from Metropolis University.

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[1] As examples of important studies using the participant-observer method, see William Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); Howard Becker et al, Boys In White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961).

We were encouraged by the new emphasis on staff discussions and mutal planning that had emerged by January, 1969, as we indicated in chapter 8. The effort should be made continuous and enlarged to include the school board, parents, dormitory workers, and even pupils at times.

In earlier chapters we suggested ways of organizing the Rough Rock school more adequately to ensure that planning and research would be continuous and systematic. The concept of a research-and-development arm for the school may have general application in ventures of this type. Unless some individual or group is given responsibility of concentrating on these functions, they will almost inevitably be excluded by the pressures of administrative detail.

We are reluctantly unable to support the efforts of Rough Rock's leaders to have their school board recognized as a model to be replicated throughout the reservation. As we indicated in chapter 3, the board itself needs to acquire much more control. One could argue with some cogency that it has rarely served as a school board at all, but primarily as a surrogate chapter.[1] It concentrated primarily on the employment program and community development activities. The method used for extending payments and other inducements to the board, the magnitude of the inducements, patterns of nepotism in the employment program, and ineffective methods for insuring community scrutiny of board decisions all had serious potential for distorting the board's functions. Yet the members were encouragingly assertive, and there was likelihood that Rough Rock might yet develop a pattern of local control that would be generally applicable.

In our opinion, the elements of failure that could be discerned at Rough Rock (or in virtually any experiment, for that matter) were generally not attributable to local control--rather to a lack of local control. So far as we could determine, several of the school's most questionable approaches were Anglo-initiated and resisted by the board, at least initially--such as the dormitory check-out system and the policy of paying trainees in the arts and crafts program.

Since the matter of community development is particularly important, we will reiterate here a number of points made in chapter 3. It appeared to us that the school's impact on community optimism and well being was effected mainly through the employment program, in the form of wages to local people. This fact may be interpreted in at least three ways, depending on what it is assumed that Rough Rock was demonstrating: As the first interpretation, if Rough Rock sought to show what short-term infusions of liberal funding could do for community development, we think not much was demonstrated, for we saw little by way of an economic base that would be left if the funds were removed. Some important residue of optimism, self assertion, and leadership skills would no doubt remain, but this was scarcely enough to justify the large outlays. Significant community optimism, self assertion, and leadership skills were exhibited at Rock Point, though perhaps not to an equal extent, without any extra money earmarked for community development. As a second interpretation, if Rough Rock's purpose was to prove that a copious continuing inflow of federal grants would do much to develop a community, it probably succeeded, but the demonstration then was unrealistic and unnecessary. Few people would doubt, demonstration or not, that using federal funds to create rotating employment opportunities for at least 50 per cent of family breadwinners (a very conservative estimate at Rough Rock) would contribute considerably to the well being of an impoverished community. Furthermore, funds of this magnitude are not likely to be available to the vast majority of disadvantaged communities in the United States, particularly so far as politically impotent American Indians are concerned. Why demonstrate methods that can seldom if ever be applied elsewhere? Finally, if Rough Rock sought to use its funds to create techniques of community development that could be applied elsewhere with rather modest monetary outlays, the demonstration failed.

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[1] As we indicated earlier, the chapter is the local subdivision of the Navaho political structure.

Should the community development program continue to be funded liberally at Rough Rock? Here again, the assumptions adopted tend to dictate the answer. It is thoroughly defensible to extend employment activities to disadvantaged people and to pay them very adequately for their services. It is even more important to upgrade the education of their children to such an extent that major reasons for unemployment will be removed. If it could be assumed that funds for both functions were obtainable, we would recommend that Rough Rock's employment program, along with a well supported academic program, be duplicated throughtout the Navaho reservation, and probably in many communities elsewhere. But since it probably must be assumed that funds for both functions cannot soon be made available, priorities must be established. We see little equity, in the long run, in a system that denies to Pinon parents(those whose children attended the Chinle Boarding school in our study) both employment opportunities and a decent educational opportunity for their children while extending employment opportunities to Rough Rock parents, since there is little likelihood, we have seen, that generally applicable techniques will emerge at Rough Rock for more general benefit.

We recomment that otherapproaches to community development be funded at once on the Navaho reservation, but not at Rough Rock. Our awareness of the difficulties a withdrawal of community development funds would pose to Rough Rock people -

is counterbalanced by the fact that the current program holds little promise for helping Navahos generally, many of whom are worse off than Rough Rock residents. It would probably be difficult to establish a different approach at Rough Rock at the present time, because the pattern of expecting payments for virtually all aspects of self-help is so firmly established, at least as many Navaho informants (including one school board member) describe it. It would be informative, in addition, to see how much community involvement would survive at Rough Rock once many financial inducements were withdrawn. If further community development efforts are funded at Rough Rock, we strongly recommend, for reasons discussed in chapter 3, that they be managed by some other agency, not the school.

As a more general approach to improving American Indian education, we think the general structure of BIA should be investigated, particularly at its upper echelons, and especially with respect to its relationships to other federal agencies and Congress. There is something wrong with a system that quietly permits decades of spasmodic funding to purge it of enthusiasm and energy. Or does the basic fault lie with the American people? Perhaps, after all, the central difficulty is the invisibility of the American Indian, particularly when he seems not at all militant and lives far from any city, amid the distant mesas of Arizona. We have no doubt that the majority of American citizens would be outraged at much of what we saw. We think, for example, that the lack of adequate staffing, buildings, equipment, and materials at the Chinle Boarding school was a national disgrace. At least equally tragic is the likelihood that the programs produced at Rock Point with a modicum of extra funding and a great deal of imagination and administrative follow-through will be subsiding by the time school opens in the fall of 1969.

There may be a strong tendency in this country at the present time, when citizens are weary of war in Viet Nam and riots at home, to want quick and decisive answers to gnawing problems. In Indian Education, the difficult but probably necessary way is to cope imaginatively but patiently with the problems, to devise solutions, and to apply and refine and adapt these solutions consistently for decades. To do this will require more than half-hearted, spasmodic funding. It will require an emphasis on skillful administration more than promotion. It would be much easier simply to blast the Establishment (in this case, BIA), to find a great idea, and to demonstrate conclusively, by applying the idea, that the trouble all along has been the Establishment's turpitude, not the difficulty of the problems. It appears, unfortunately, that Navaho education is not going to be improved by that route.

Our final recommendation, then, is that several experimental approaches be launched simultaneously on the Navaho reservation, some within the BIA structure and some outside it. Rock Point has demonstrated conclusively, so far as we are concerned, that experimentation and reform are possible within BIA. One advantage of an existing structure, as Rock Point's principal repeatedly pointed out, was that many matters were taken care of routinely; an administrator could concentrate on one or two components at a time and do the job properly. Given a choice, we would opt for introducing some innovations into BIA schools in a rather comprehensive fashion and some more occasionally and opportunistically. Assuming the current fiscal crisis can be solved, we see no good reason why BIA officials should not insist at once that all schools serving reasonably accessible communities begin to develop extensive community involvement. As a general policy, BIA should create school boards wherever they do not exist, should develop their decision-making skills systematically, and should extend to them more and more authority. On more technical classroom issues, it may be better to make special resources quickly available whenever a school staff displays potential for something significant. We doubt much success will attend efforts to introduce complex new methods in many schools at once. It is probably more realistic to try them wherever conditions seem opportune and later to publicize well the outcomes established through careful research.

APPENDIX A

NAVAHOS AND OTHER AMERICAN INDIANS CANVASSED FOR QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE IN THE STUDY

Mr. Sam Billison
Tucson, Arizona

Mr. Wilbur Dixon, Director
Navaho Tribal Public Services Division
Window Rock, Arizona

Miss Gloria Emerson
Education Specialist
Office of Navaho Economic Opportunity
Fort Defiance, Arizona

Miss Sharon B. Ethridge, Principal
Cottonwood Day School
Chinle, Arizona

Governor Pat Galaboa
Santo Domingo Pueblo, N. M.

Mr. Howard Gorman
Navaho Tribal Council
Window Rock, Arizona

Mrs. Wayne Holm
Rock Point Boarding School
Chinle, Arizona

Mr. Paul Jones
Window Rock, Arizona

Miss Stella Lee, Education Specialist
Shiprock Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs
Shiprock, N. Mexico

Mr. Maurice McCabe
Window Rock, Arizona

Mr. Peter McDonald, Director
Office of Navaho Economic Opportunity
Fort Defiance, Arizona

Mr. Raymond Nakai, Chairman
Navajo Tribal Council
Window Rock, Arizona

Mr. Frankie Paul
Window Rock, Arizona

Mr. Scott Preston
Granado, Arizona

Mr. Joe Price
Chinle Public School Board
Chinle, Arizona

Mr. Tom Segundo, Chairman
Papago Tribal Council
Sells, Arizona

Mr. Mel Thom
Berkeley, California

Mr. Carl Todacheene
Navaho Tribal Councilman
Shiprock, New Mexico

Mrs. Chuba Watson
Window Rock, Arizona

Mrs. Annie Wauneka
Navaho Tribal Council
Window Rock, Arizona

Mr. Jim Wilson
Indian Desk
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Miss Ethel Yazzie
St. Michael's, Arizona

APPENDIX B

Items on School Health Program included in Teacher Questionnaire

1. When unhealthful situations appear around the school, they are quickly corrected.

2. The emotional climate of the school in general promotes learning and good mental health.

3. The emotional climate of the dormitory promotes learning and good emotional health.

4. The school's food services are good.

5. The school administration provides adequate materials for health instruction, including interesting books, charts, filmstrips, and pamphlets.

6. The school provides adequate specialized help to classroom teachers to assist in conducting health instruction.

7. The health instruction program is based on the health needs, problems, interests, and abilities of the pupils.

8. The health instruction program is closely integrated with the school health services, the dormitory program, the school lunch or cafeteria program, physical education, and programs for healthful and safe living in the community.

9. The school has definite policies relative to the teaching of such controversial areas as healthful family living.

10. The school has health instruction guides that establish goals in terms of knowledge, attitudes, and habits for each instructional level.

11. The health instruction guides suggest problems for study, student activities, materials, resource people, and approaches to evaluation.

12. A committee gives annual consideration to needed revisions in the health education program.

13. Inservice training programs help teachers become more skillful in detecting symptoms of physical and mental illnesses and deficiencies, especially communicable diseases.

14. Pupils with health needs are quickly identified by teachers and referred for the necessary care or counseling.

15. Hearing tests are administered periodically to all pupils.

16. All children are given vision screening tests periodically.

17. There are accurate, up-to-date, cumulative health records for each pupil.

18. These records are available to teachers and other school personnel.

19. The school nurse acts as a liaison among school, parents, and community health agencies.

20. Teacher-nurse conferences are held at least once a year to discuss the health problems of individual pupils.

21. Children with special health problems are provided with special educational services after consultations involving parents, the physician, the teacher, and the school nurse.

22. There is a well-defined, written policy for handling children with, or suspected of having, a communicable disease.

23. The school has well-defined, clearly understood policies for emergency care and first aid, including: a well qualified person and an alternate responsible for administration of first aid and other emergency action, procedures for notifying parents of illness and injury, and procedures for referral if parents cannot be reached.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW NOTES: PROFESSOR OSWALD WERNER
(FORM CHAPTER 5 REPORT)

Board Member John Dick

Indian children often return from school shy of their parents. This is where RRDS helps the children. The relation between parents and children is better here. They remember their clans. They know how to greet people. This is lost in the BIA schools. Schools have destroyed tradition. RRDS helps to regain it again.

Dillon Platero (RRDS Director)

RRDS has four basic aims:

(1) Community involvement and local control.

(2) Emphasis on Navaho culture. The community feels good about this. It started with them. The tribe supports this. (Most of the hostility toward it comes from the compound). The emphasis should be: history, Oral use of N and literacy in N, N daily living, N government, Change of N life, Legends and beliefs. He personally would de-emphasize the religious aspects. N religion is not like other religions that demand certain beliefs. Among other religions Catholics, Mormons and nearby Friends come in.

(3) To break fences down. School and chapter should overlap. RRDS is and should be the educational resource of the community. There is a community office on the premises, RRDS helps people take care of lambs.

(4) A comparable or better education for the children of the community. A flexible curriculum. Feels obligated to the child for his success. ESL, math, the three R's in short must be up to standard.

Literacy comes easier through the medium of N. There is a lack of evaluation instruments. The N language should not be phased out and should be kept through entire schooling of the child.

Anita Pfeiffer: (Principal, Phase I)

Abe Lincoln reports to her on N social living, in phase 1.

Willbert Willey to Mr. Bradley in Phase 2.

Curriculum planning is up to the teachers: In N literacy it is the committee of Laura Wallace and George Lee. In English it is Guy Ottwell and Ann Sisney.

Very few E monolingual students in school: Total 10, five of which are N. There are about 50 (?) monolingual children who speak N only.

Library used to have $2,000 per year, now cut to $1,000.

All teachers meet with outside consultants as the need arises.

The N primer is in preparation by the Curriculum Center.

Doris Arviso

She used to be a guidance 'teacher' with the BIA. Came up through the ranks. Has had six years of teaching experience. Was at Round Rock 1953/54; Toadlena Hogan School 1955/56; then she taught 1st and 2nd grade at Red Rock and Roadlena. This is her third year at RRDS.

She had a six week ESL institute with Dr. Robert Wilson, UCLA in 1967.

She likes RRDS. She appreciates the strong Navaho ties of the school. She feels she was caught between the two cultures. Her children had problems--they don't speak Navaho and are now in school at Winslow.

If there was one thing she would like to change at RRDS it would be more English in the upper grades. She questions Anita Pfeiffer's directive on 99% N in the classroom. Speaks more E than that.

In her work she cooperates with Helen Rosier--they share stencils. She has 28 children in her class.

She started Navaho literacy with the vowels, skipped the 'diphthongs,' and went on to the consonants. She feels the students are way ahead in their literacy from what you expect in a curriculum of English literacy only. This applies both to literacy in English and in Navaho.

In class she starts the day with an opening exercise which varies from day to day--English and Navaho days. She sings with the children both in N and in E. After the snack and the recess there is N reading. The aid takes over the E reading for children who do not speak N. There is a 1/2 hour period of ESL before lunch. Another 1/2 hour after lunch.

She does explaining of subjects in both N and E. For example the biography of Lincoln and Washington.

She is in a way relearning her N with the children. The children are learning very fast. It is exciting for the children in N. Her own children in boarding school seem behind the children in her class. She constantly thinks about how to get on the level of the children, make learning more meaningful and interesting. She sings with the children in both languages; they learn best by acting things out.

Eva Benally

BA, Washington State at Pullman; MA, Colorado State at Greeley. She was a BIA counseling 'teacher', guidance supervisor at the Chinle Boarding School. This is her first year at RRDS.

She likes the fact that there is less regimentation at RRDS. Appreciates the unstructured times available to the children in the dormitory. In the BIA schools everything is prescribed. The students at RRDS do more on their own.

Her major objection is that the PE program is weak at RRDS.

She started three weeks late with N literacy. Mrs. Tso was first instructor. Laura Wallace was very helpful to her, especially for the first 2 to 3 weeks. Has 3 groups in N reading, spends about 30 minutes with each. Teaches math in N.

The ESL program is generally run by Mrs. Sisney, about 30 minutes of formal instruction a day.

The class has read Black Mountain Boy, Coyote stories. These are read in E and explained in N by her. Children also go to the Library where Mr. Ottewell reads in E and Eva retells it in N. Both, the room parents and the aid help with translation of stories from E into N.

A major problem is the development of new materials and their sequencing.

Her N is truly excellent, Likes to teach small children in N. It is too early to say but she is confident this will work and produce good results. She received help from Laura Wallace and George Lee at first. Now not as often as before.

George Lee

BYU Graduate in Sociology. Learned Navaho literacy in self-instruction and as a Mormon missionary. Is committee chairman on Navaho literacy. Uses themes, speeches and drama in Navaho.

Feels RRDS does not have enough of English. He does not follow all N language directive. Objects to more N than E at school.

Abraham Lincoln

One year of Journalism at NAU. Worked for N Times. Teaches N social living in phase 1; a total of five groups. He reads N but is learning to write it.

Teaches only the classes of Anglo teachers. Complains about lack of materials. The Culture Center has only rough drafts of legends in E. Material from Tribal Museum and the fact that father is Chanter and from mother he is able to gather material.

N social living is good because (1) it teaches pride in one's culture and helps one to remember it better, (2) it preserves the N way of life.

Correlation with classroom curriculum is difficult. It was OK with Father Kino, Northern Mexico adobe, but it doesn't work out like that very often.

As chairman of social studies curriculum committee he will try to integrate social living and social studies. They have a 90 day outline by Milton Bluehouse from last year.

Thinks that integration is more important in phase 2. In phase 1 social studies and N social living could be separate.

Wants to stress N history. Martin Hoffman's N history from N Curriculum Center will be good to have. Sees N mythology as part of N history.

The Thanksgiving program was all in N. The Christmas program was all in E. The storm cut out the N. (sic.)

Paul Platero (now with NC College)

Kids make fun of ESL. The forced repetitiveness seems the main issue.

N social living is good but a lot depends on who is teaching it. The first year Dillon was teaching biographies, Paul was teaching N history, the others taught the clan relations.

The whole thing was very disorganized. Absences which happened were uncovered. Clark Atsitty was very good. There was no lesson sequence and there is repetition from year to year.

N social relations has really suffered from the great turnover of teachers. Clark was pushed around. Milton Bluehouse did a lot of research in very little time. Part of the early problem was organizational. N social living was moved around between departments.

There is no real training available in N culture and N language. There was no outline of goals. How much of what students should know at time X. Teacher was totally on his own.

For the N language program it was necessary to hire translators and shove them into the classroom.

It is good for children to learn to be proud of their own culture, to be relaxed about their own language.

He feels part of the teacher's problems are his (P.P's) fault too. Teachers came for help to him in September and October, he was too busy. After that they didn't ask for any more advice. He did help however Martin Hoffman to work on the N primer (experimental for 1969/70).

About 8-10 of his students learned to write N well. Strangely these students objected most to N. They have now moved to the High School at Many Farms.

Kids at RRDS are more relaxed about speaking up in N. Not as bashful as at BIA schools. They are taught here to be proud about their language.

Helen Rosier

BYU BS in elementary education. Self instruction in Navaho. No experience in bilingual education previously. She received help from Gary Witherspoon, her husband Paul and from Frank Harvey. She cooperates closely with Mrs. Arviso. This is her first year in teaching N. Depends on many ideas from Mrs. Arviso. She has also received some help from Mrs. Laura Wallace and Mrs. Theresa Bradley. Her previous teaching at Dilkon (4 months of 4th grade) was easier because of a prepared curriculum.

For ESL her students go to Ann Sisney for 30 minutes every day. In literacy she uses standard RRDS approach of vowels first, consonants second. The problems are more specifically the lack of materials for N teaching, no books; nothing yet from the N Curriculum Center.

Her curriculum is entirely on her own; she feels she has less than average supervision.

Fieldtrips to Chuska and Wingate were of little help. She didn't like teacher's approaches. They were too strict. She fould it ridiculous that the children had to say "I'll promise Mrs. W. I'll do better the next time."

In social living she has taught Family (kin terms), Foods, (they even made some in class).

If she could do it over again, she would like to be a student at RRDS. She wouldn't be as scared as she was in Tuba City Boarding School. She doesn't like dorm life at all. She is looking forward to work on the social science curriculum with Abraham Lincoln.

Children are interested in writing N. More relaxed in talking N (They are really talkative in N--, different from BIA). In questions of pronounciation she often has to turn to the aid for help.

She attended N language (literacy?) school in August. Teachers were changing too much. She wishes teachers would cooperate more, they are all here for the same purpose--to educate the children.

Even the parents who come to visit want to learn. They can now start, they understand the N.

Wilbert Willie

Attended Snow College in Utah. Majored in Health education. Was on LDS Mission. 1 1/2 years at BYU. Will eventually finish in Sociology.

In N social living last year they talked about N social problems and compared the N government with others.

This year in phase 2; short stories, grandfather stories, Young and Morgan childhood stories and Black Mountain Boy. Since January he taught and plans for the rest of the year: N social problems, Local politics, Rough Rock with or without Demonstration School history, types of reservation schools, Missions, early trading posts, etc. Uses Kluckhohn's The Navaho, Tribal Museum papers, Map of sacred places.

Wishes RRDS was more strict with children. The teaching of E could be stronger. There is no expectation of the children to speak E with each other. They are allowed to speak N in any class--does not like it. To question in E children will (in N social living) often answer in N.

Nationalism diffused to N from American Blacks. There were some N pickets at Window Rock recently. Sit-in at the Chinle PS at Christmas. Protested cuts in program. Would be fun to do here but can't think of good reason.

RRDS needs better organization of teachers with regard to the curriculum. Abe Lincoln's committee is a step in the right direction. All N teachers are together to plan N social living in the framework of social studies.

Ethelou Yazzie

BA from Goshen College. Teaches first grade equivalent (ages 6-9).

Gets little help on Navaho literacy. The meetings planned last fall did not materialize. Although there is now a curriculum committee. Eva, and Helen are the only other ones with BA. She cooperates with Eva but never with Helen.

She tries to make up stories in N with the children. The biggest problems of N literacy are (1) Absence of texts, (2) Vocabulary problems--some kids are better than she is. (3) There is a need for standardization of spelling.

The students write both in E and N. N literacy is great and necessary if you know what you are doing.

The children talk and do, know generally more in N.

The first semester she taught all in N. During second semester she blends in E. Ann Sisney teaches ESL with the class.

The ESL approach is too simplicistic, even silly.

Changes she would like to see are fewer teacher's meetings.

She has had experience with bi-cultural education: Amish children (first German). These children were not art minded. N children are more skillful with their hands.

Amish are more expressive verbally and facially. When the N children first heard her speak E they just sat back and pretended not to hear. After one month of it they are catching on.

What RRDS and N literacy needs most is a stabilized program, textbooks. Apparently she is writing one independent of RRDS.

In N social living she worked on Foods, Immediate family and kin terms. Didn't touch clan terminology. Alternates 45 minutes with Science.

When she gets angry, she talks E with the children.

Parents are more involved here than other BIA Schools. They come and ask her questions. She feels RRDS is a different school than the BIA Schools.

Ann Sisney

Has a BA in education from ASU. Took courses in Linguistics from Joel Maring at U. of Southern Illinois. She came to RRDS to work with Petey Hoffman. The goal was frustrated to some extent.

The RRDS ESL program uses oral English and the locally developed stories of Black Mountain Boy, Grandfather Stories and Coyote Stories. Every child in school has read Black Mountain Boy.

Rock Point adapted the Fries-Rojas materials. RRDS work is based on the Transformational Generative approach worked out by Dr. Robert Wilson, UCLA. This method provides more structure and less vocabulary, the RP method stresses more vocabulary and less structure.

The testing was interesting. RRDS children did better on the RRDS test, RP children did better on the RP test.

She feels RRDS children speak better E.

Lower academic standards may be true of the upper grades. She feels 8th grade is doing about 6th grade work.

She would like to have a classroom for herself (operates now in other classrooms or in the 'hall' behind the library.) She would like to see primary teacher better (she feels now they are not at all) represented in the administration. Principal tends to order things without teacher consultation. There are too many formal notes and not enough personal contact from the principal. Head Start should use English, now there is no place for it. Teachers of the lower grades use more E than they are supposed to primarily because they do not feel competent in teaching in Navaho.

Children in her class learned E words by doing: skipping, bouncing, tossing, use of modals (can). Correct answer rewarded with performance.

Lots of N interchange between students while this is going on in E. However, students appeared to have fun while learning E. Their pronunciation sounded adequate.

Guy Ottewell (Librarian)

Studies Middle East Literature at UCLA. Works in Library.

Translated Hoja stories into N with children. Children caught on. (Was unaware (few Non-N are) and interested in N Beeila stories similar in style to hoja stories--often more ribald.)

Complained about the inertia of the bilingual people. Very interested about expanding the N text holdings of the library. His attitude could easily be called embarrassed about the minuteness of such holdings.

Has had training in phonetics and occasionally gives inservice lectures on phonetica for the teachers.

Helps students in the library, e.g. wooden partitions between call numbers. Presents slide stories to children, reads stories. (We observed Ottewell reading slide story, Eva Benally translating into N.)

Theresa Bradley

She is reading and writing specialist and a key person in the ESL program.

The first priority of RRDS in her mind is the developments of the primers for next fall. As a reading specialist she has participated in its creation.

For English reading she uses the Paul Roberts, 1966-68 English. Series Volumes 1-8 (corresponding to grader) (Harcourt Brace and World). She was unhappy with the Sullivan Assoc., 1965, Westermasters for Programmed Reading, (McGraw-Hill) because the children were cheating.

They are changing at RRDS to C. Gattegno, 1968, Word in Color (Xerox). This will be used along with Glin, T.E., 1968 The Palo Alto Reading Program (Harcourt, Brace & World) for grades 1-3.

In the middle grades they are using Parker, D.H., 1961. Reading Laboratory (SRA) from grades 4-8.

ESL seems to work better with smaller children. The older ones find the repetitiousness ridiculous. The little children speak and chatter in N and in E, regardless whether their teacher was Anglo or N. But with a stranger they hesitate to risk their English.

Everet Flint

She has a very mixed class of the 'Dum-Dums' (sic.). Even so children speak good E. Recognize their mistakes if a story is read back to them.

Misses most a good ESL person at RRDS. Would have to be very, very good.

The bigger children are embarrassed by ESL.

She has a mild epileptic in her class. Children became used to it. She helped them understand.

Paul Rosier

RRDS must learn to face reality. Thinks many consultants, like Bob Wilson left because Bob Roessel couldn't stand them telling him all the things they felt were wrong. RRDS plunged into N social living and N literacy without preparation. There just aren't enough materials. There just aren't enough materials. Dillon is more willing to face reality. RRDS is getting more organized.

Ted Draper's Class

This was an adult education class for dormitory parents. Subject was digestion with N and E words. Eight persons, 3 men and 5 women.

The parents insisted in talking to us and said:

They like the children reading and writing in N and E. The children at RRDS are really different. They interpret real well between N and E. They explain things to their parents. There is here better understanding between parents and children. (KB interpreted).

Wayne Holme (Principal at Rock Point)

He has been exploring bilingual education within 89-10. The aim of education ought to be coordinate bilinguals. Among classroom aids coordinate bilingualism is desirable. The aid is to be considered as much a teacher as the teacher.

Prefers Anglo teacher to speak always E, aid to speak N only. The aid does not interpret for the teacher.

ESL in 4 one-half hour groups combined with N literacy.

Step by step approach: (1) letter discerning (same-different); (2) sound-symbol coordination; (3) actual reading, first in N.

This year some of this work is done in the kindergarten ESL (see above) always by Anglo teacher. N literacy by aid.

Follow speciality system. Mr. Anthony Harvey is a teacher of the teachers in literacy. In ESL Dr. Elizabeth Willink is ESL specialist.

Only beginners grade is truly N and E. First grade is all in E. For beginners every lesson is taught over in N and E. If a concept is important always explained in E and N. e.g. "Weekly Reader" is discussed in N. There is some literacy for upper grades (2-5).

The Bereiter-Engleman method grossly adopted to N situation. Especially insofar as this means (1) explicit behavioral objectives, (2) language response, (3) structured language program, (4) higher (than usual in BIA schools) expectation during short periods.

APPENDIX D

LEAST SQUARE ESTIMATES OF EFFECTS AND STANDARD ERRORS FROM ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE, CHAPTER 7

FROM ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE, FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF ANXIETY SCALE, CHAPTER 7

	LEAST SQ ESTIMATES OF EFFECTS	STANDARD ERROR
GRAND MEAN	15.53977	0.446482
Yr. 3 vs. Yr. 1	-3.46866*	1.244305
Yr. 5 vs. Yr. 1	-3.85069*	1.336942
Yr. 7 vs. Yr. 1	-5.04697*	1.246815
Rk. Pt. vs. RRDS	-0.96801	0.997839
Ch. Bd. vs. RRDS	-3.44003*	0.970644
Ch. Pb. vs. RRDS	-0.13348	1.541405
Boys vs. Girls	-4.88182*	0.892964
Sex x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	-4.91189*	2.488611
Sex x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	0.29385	2.673884
Sex x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	-2.58859	2.493630
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex	-1.94095	1.995678
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex	1.71697	1.941289
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Sex	-3.45446	3.082811
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	1.88607	2.440030
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	2.22698	2.768762
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	2.38948	2.896002
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	-2.56310	2.453270
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	-0.68215	2.760430
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	1.19940	2.748626
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	1.28809	4.366444
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	6.53809	4.686997
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	0.59226	4.287538
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	-0.26421	4.880060
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	-8.87937	5.537524
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	1.32897	5.792004
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	-0.58810	4.906540
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	-4.45000	5.520861
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	-2.37976	5.497252
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 3, Yr. 1	5.37619	8.732888
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5, Yr. 1	10.27620	9.373994
Ch. Pb., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7, Yr. 1	20.43453*	8.575076

	FROM ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE, ENGLISH COMPREHENSION RAW SCORES, CHAPTER 7		FROM ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE, ENGLISH VOCABULARY RAW SCORES, CHAPTER 7	
	LEAST SQ ESTIMATES OF EFFECTS	STANDARD ERROR	LEAST SQ ESTIMATES OF EFFECTS	STANDARD ERROR
GRAND MEAN	20.10430	0.90608	13.27816	0.58900
Yr. 4 vs. Yr. 3	1.10589	3.10667	-0.99616	2.01951
Yr. 5 vs Yr. 3	8.63366*	3.07891	6.51217*	2.00147
Yr. 6 vs. Yr. 3	11.37771*	2.83107	7.48320*	1.84036
Yr. 7 vs. Yr. 3	12.08644*	2.90258	8.10522*	1.88684
Rk. Pt. vs. RRDS	1.85829	2.04966	1.31075	1.33240
Ch. Bd. vs. RRDS	-1.57730	2.37814	-0.46186	1.54593
Boys vs. Girls	-0.53447	1.81216	-0.12775	1.17801
Sex x Yr. 4,3	-1.96971	6.21334	-1.61085	4.03903
Sex x Yr. 5,3	-3.21416	6.15782	-1.59418	4.00294
Sex x Yr. 6,3	-3.71177	5.66215	-3.84101	3.68073
Sex x Yr. 7,3	-5.98638	5.80516	-4.09140	3.77369
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex	1.92960	4.09932	2.49373	2.66480
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex	3.81651	4.75629	6.60849	3.09187
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 4,3	1.91568	6.20619	0.91349	4.03438
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 5,3	-2.23433	6.51847	-0.42817	4.23738
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 6,3	6.10615	5.45432	3.84325	3.54562
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 7,3	0.58234	5.85853	-2.66568	3.80839
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 4,3	-4.03850	8.39800	-0.33651	5.45919
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 5,3	-11.90516	8.25216	-0.89484	5.36438
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 6,3	-3.66350	7.61205	-1.95318	4.94828
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 7,3	-5.76350	7.76992	-4.14068	5.05090
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 4,3	6.77579	12.41238	2.48254	8.06877
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5,3	12.67579	13.03693	13.09921	8.47476
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 6,3	1.29961	10.90864	-3.09127	7.09125
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7,3	-7.22420	11.71707	-2.02579	7.61677
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 4,3	-7.23255	16.79601	-3.01746	10.91838
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5,3	9.33412	16.50432	18.26587	10.72877
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 6,3	-8.48255	15.22411	-3.88413	9.89656
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7,3	-5.28254	15.53984	-2.57580	10.10180

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	LEAST SQ ESTIMATES OF EFFECTS	STANDARD ERROR
GRAND MEAN	32.77422	0.94695
Yr. 4 vs. Yr. 3	4.87989	3.24679
Yr. 5 vs. Yr. 3	22.08962*	3.21778
Yr. 6 vs. Yr. 3	28.07533*	2.95877
Yr. 7 vs. Yr. 3	36.46878*	3.03350
Rk. Pt. vs. RRDS	-2.52063	2.14211
Ch. Bd. vs. RRDS	1.21460	2.48541
Boys vs. Girls	3.03204	1.89390
Sex x Yr. 4, 3	0.45053	6.49358
Sex x Yrs. 5, 3	13.60331*	6.43556
Sex x Yr. 6, 3	5.37791	5.91753
Sex x Yr. 7,3	5.80053	6.06699
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex	-2.30826	4.28421
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex	-0.10968	4.97082
Rk.Pt., RRDS x Yr. 4,3	-6.52718	6.48611
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 5,3	-3.01052	6.81247
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 6,3	2.21329	5.70033
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Yr. 7,3	-5.58135	6.12277
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 4,3	-5.20219	8.77679
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 5,3	7.71031	8.62436
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 6,3	-3.35636	7.95539
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Yr. 7,3	-5.44386	8.12037
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 4,3	-10.82659	12.97222
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5,3	5.60675	13.62495
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 6,3	1.93056	11.40066
Rk. Pt., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7,3	1.28175	12.24555
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 4,3	-14.22660	17.55357
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 5,3	12.19840	17.24873
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 6,3	23.79841	15.91077
Ch. Bd., RRDS x Sex x Yr. 7,3	13.84008	16.24075